THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

The Papyrus of Ani

by

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INTRODUCTION.

THE VERSIONS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

The four great Versions of the Book of the Dead.

THE history of the great body of religious compositions which form the Book of Dead of the ancient Egyptians may conveniently be divided into four[1] of the periods, which are represented by four versions:--

1. The version which was edited by the priests of the college of Annu (the On of the Bible, and the Heliopolis of the Greeks), and which was based upon a series of texts now lost, but which there is evidence to prove had passed through a series of revisions or editions as early as the period of the Vth dynasty. This version was, so far as we know, always written in hieroglyphics, and may be called the Heliopolitan version. It is known from five copies which are inscribed upon the walls of the chambers and passages in the pyramids[2] of kings of the Vth and VIth dynasties at Sakkâra;[3] and sections of it are found inscribed upon tombs, sarcophagi, coffins, stelæ and papyri from the XIth dynasty to about A.D. 200.[4]

[1. See Naville, *Todtenbuch* (Einleitung), p. 39.

2. Hence known as the "pyramid texts."

3. *I.e.*, Unâs, Tetâ, Pepi I., Mentu-em-sa-f, and Pepi II. Their pyramids were cleared out by MM. Mariette and Maspero during the years 1890-84, and the hieroglyphic texts were published, with a French translation, in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii-xiv., Paris, 1882-93.

4. In the XIth, XIIth, and XIIIth dynasties many monuments are inscribed with sections of the Unâs text. Thus lines 206-69 are found in hieroglyphics upon the coffin of Amamu (British Museum, No. 6654. See Birch, *Egyptian Texts of the Earliest Period from the Coffin of Amamu*, 1886. Plates XVII.-XX.); ll. 206-14 and 268-84 on the coffin of Apa-ankh, from Sakkâra (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii., Bl. 99 *b*; Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iii., pp. 200 and 214 ff.); ll. 206-10 {footnote page x.} and 268-89 on the coffin of Antef (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii., Bl. 145; Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iii., pp. 200, 214); line 206 on a coffin of Menthu-hetep at Berlin (see Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, Bl. 5); lines 269-94 on the sarcophagus of Heru-hetep (see Maspero, *Mémoires*, t, i., p. 144). A section is found on the walls of the tomb of Queen Neferu (see Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iii., p. 201 ff.; *Mémoires*, t. i., p. 134); other sections are found on the sarcophagus of Taka (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii., Bll. 147, 148; Maspero, *Guide au Visiteur*, p. 224, No. 1053; *Mémoires*, t. i., p. 134); lines 5-8 occur on the stele of Apa (see Ledrain, *Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibl. Nationale*, Paris, 1879, foll. 14, 15); lines 166 ff. are found on the stele of Nehi (see Mariette, *Notice des Mon. à Boulaq*, p. 190; Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iii., p. 195); and lines 576-83 on the coffin of Sebek-Aa (see Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, Bl. 37; Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iv., p. 68). In the XVIIIth dynasty line 169 was copied on a wall in the temple of Hatshepset at Dêr el-baharî (see Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, Bll. 25-37; Maspero, *Recueil*, t. i., p. 195 ff.); and copies of lines 379-99 occur in the papyri of Mut-hetep (British Museum, No. 10,010) and Nefer-uten-f (Paris, No. 3092, See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 197; *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXII., p. 3; and Naville, Einleitung, pp. 39, 97). In the XXVIth dynasty we find texts of the Vth dynasty repeated on the walls of the tomb of Peta-Amen-apt, the chief *kher-heb* at Thebes (see Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der Thebanischen Nekropolis*, Leipzig, 1884-85); and also upon the papyrus written for the lady Sais ###, about A.D. 200 (see Devéria, *Catalogue des MSS. Égyptiens*, Paris, 1874, p. 170 No. 3155). Signor Schiaparelli's words are:--"Esso è scritto in ieratico, di un tipo paleografico speciale: l' enorme abbondanza di segni espletivi, la frequenza di segni o quasi demotici o quasi geroglifici, la sottigliezza di tutti, e l'incertezza con cui sono tracciati, che rivela una mano più abituata a scrivere in greco che in egiziano, sono altrettanti caratteri del tipo ieratico del periodo

esclusivamente romano, a cui il nostro papiro appartiene senza alcun dubbio." *Il Libro dei Funerali*, p. 19. On Devéria's work in connection with this MS., see Maspero, *Le Rituel du sacrifice Funéraire* (in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xv., p. 161).]

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II. The Theban version, which was commonly written on papyri in hieroglyphics and was divided into sections or chapters, each of which had its distinct title but no definite place in the series. The version was much used from the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasty.

III. A version closely allied to the preceding version, which is found written on papyri in the hieratic character and also in hieroglyphics. In this version, which came into use about the XXth dynasty, the chapters have no fixed order.

IV. The so-called Saïte version, in which, at some period anterior probably to the XXVIth dynasty, the chapters were arranged in a definite order. It is commonly written in hieroglyphics and in hieratic, and it was much used from the XXVIth dynasty to the end of the Ptolemaic period.

Early forms of the Book of the Dead.

The Book of the Dead.

The earliest inscribed monuments and human remains found in Egypt prove that the ancient Egyptians took the utmost care to preserve the bodies of their

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dead by various processes of embalming. The deposit of the body in the tomb was accompanied by ceremonies of a symbolic nature, in the course of which certain compositions comprising prayers, short litanies, etc., having reference to the future life, were recited or chanted by priests and relatives on behalf of the dead. The greatest importance was attached to such compositions, in the belief that their recital would secure for the dead an unhindered passage to God in the next world, would enable him to overcome the opposition of all ghostly foes, would endow his body in the tomb with power to resist corruption, and would ensure him a new life in a glorified body in heaven. At a very remote period certain groups of sections or chapters had already become associated with some of the ceremonies which preceded actual burial, and these eventually became a distinct ritual with clearly defined limits. Side by side, however, with this ritual there seems to have existed another and larger work, which was divided into an indefinite number of sections or chapters comprising chiefly prayers, and

which dealt on a larger scale with the welfare of the departed in the next world, and described the state of existence therein and the dangers which must be passed successfully before it could be reached, and was founded generally on the religious dogmas and mythology of the Egyptians. The title of "Book of the Dead" is usually given by Egyptologists to the editions of the larger work which were made in the XVIIIth and following dynasties, but in this Introduction the term is intended to include the general body of texts which have reference to the burial of the dead and to the new life in the world beyond the grave, and which are known to have existed in revised editions and to have been in use among the Egyptians from about B.C. 4500, to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Uncertainty of the history of its source

The home, origin, and early history of the collection of ancient religious texts which have descended to us are, at present, unknown, and all working theories regarding them, however strongly supported by apparently well-ascertained facts, must be carefully distinguished as theories only, so long as a single ancient necropolis in Egypt remains unexplored and its inscriptions are untranslated. Whether they were composed by the inhabitants of Egypt, who recorded them in hieroglyphic

characters, and who have left the monuments which are the only trustworthy sources of information on the subject, or whether they were brought into Egypt by the early immigrants from the Asiatic continent whence they came, or whether they represent the religious books of the Egyptians incorporated with the funeral texts of some prehistoric dwellers on the banks of the Nile, are all questions which the possible discovery of inscriptions belonging to the first dynasties of the Early Empire can alone decide. The evidence derived from the

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Its antiquity.

enormous mass of new material which we owe to the all-important discoveries of *mastaba* tombs and pyramids by M. Maspero, and to his publication of the early religious texts, proves beyond all doubt that the greater part of the texts comprised in the Book of the Dead are far older than the period of Mena (Menes), the first historical king of Egypt.[1] Certain sections indeed appear to belong to an indefinitely remote and primeval time.

Internal evidence of its antiquity.

The earliest texts bear within themselves proofs, not only of having been composed, but also of having been revised, or edited,

long before the days of king Meni, and judging from many passages in the copies inscribed in hieroglyphics upon the pyramids of Unas (the last king of the Vth dynasty, about B.C. 3333), and Teta, Pepi I., Mer-en-Ra, and Pepi II. (kings of the VIth dynasty, about B.C. 3300-3166), it would seem that, even at that remote date, the scribes were perplexed and hardly understood the texts which they had before them.[2] The most moderate estimate makes certain sections of the Book of the Dead as known from these tombs older than three thousand years before Christ. We are in any case justified in estimating the earliest form of the work to be contemporaneous with the foundation of the civilization[3] which we call Egyptian in the valley of

[1. "Les textes des Pyramides . . . . . . nous reportent si loin dans le passé que je n'ai aucun moyen de les dater que de dire qu'elles étaient dejà vieilles cinq mille ans avant notre ère. Si extraordinaire que paraisse ce chiffre, il faudra bien nous habituer à le considérer comme représentant une évaluation *à minima* toutes les fois qu'on voudra rechercher les origines de la religion Égyptienne. La religion et les textes qui nous la font connaître étaient déjà constitués avant la I[re] dynastie: c'est à nous de nous mettre, pour les comprendre, dans l'état d'esprit où était, il y a plus de sept mille ans, le peuple qui les a constitués. Bien entendu, je ne parle ici que des systèmes théologiques: si nous voulions remonter jusqu'à l'origine des éléments qu'ils ont mis en 渦vre, il nous faudrait reculer vers des ages encore plus lointains." Maspero, *La Mythologie Égyptienne* (in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xix., p. 12; and in *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, t. ii., p. 2 36). Compare also "dass die einzelnen Texte selbst damals schon einer alten heiligen Litteratur angehörten, unterliegt keinem Zweifel, sie sind in jeder Hinsicht alterthümlicher als die ältesten uns erhaltenen Denkmäler. Sie gehören in eine für uns 'vorhistorische' Zeit und man wird ihnen gewiss kein Unrecht anthun, wenn man sie bis in das vierte Jahrtausend hinein versetzt." Erman, Das Verhältniss des aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen, in Z.D.M.G., Bd. XLVI., p. 94.

2. "Le nombre des prières et des formules dirigées contre les animaux venimeux montre quel effroi le serpent et le scorpion inspirait aux Égyptiens. Beaucoup d'entre elles sont écrites dans une langue et avec des combinaisons de signes qui ne paraissent plus avoir été complètement comprises des scribes qui les copiaient sous Ounas et sous Pepi. Je crois, quant à moi, qu'elles appartiennent an plus vieux rituel et remontent an delà du règne de Mînî." Maspero, La Religion Égyptienne (in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xii., p. 125). See also*Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 62.

3. So sind wir gezwungen, wenigstens die ersten Grundlagen des Buches den Anfängen den Aegyptischen Civilization beizumessen." See Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch* (Einleitung), Berlin, 1886, p. 18.]

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the Nile.[1] To fix a chronological limit for the arts and civilization of Egypt is absolutely impossible.[2]

Evidence of the antiquity of certain chapters.

The oldest form or edition of the Book of the Dead as we have received it supplies no information whatever as to the period when it was compiled; but a copy of the hieratic text inscribed upon a coffin of Menthu-hetep, a queen of the XIth dynasty,[3] about B.C. 2500, made by the late Sir J. G. Wilkinson,[4] informs us that the chapter which, according to the arrangement of Lepsius, bears the number LXIV.,[5] was discovered in the reign of Hesep-ti,[6] the fifth king of the Ist dynasty, about B.C. 4266. On this coffin are two copies of the chapter, the one immediately following the other. In the rubric to the first the name of the

king during whose reign the chapter is said to have been "found" is given as Menthu-hetep, which, as Goodwin first pointed out,[7] is a mistake for Men-kau-Ra,[8] the fourth king of the IVth dynasty, about B.C. 3633;[9] but in the rubric to the second the king's name is given as Hesep-ti. Thus it appears that in the period of the XIth dynasty it was believed that the chapter might alternatively be as old as the time of the Ist dynasty. Further, it is given to Hesep-ti in papyri of the XXIst dynasty,[10] a period when particular attention was paid to the history of the Book of the Dead; and it thus appears that the Egyptians of the Middle Empire believed the chapter to date from the more

[1. The date of Mena, the first king of Egypt, is variously given B.C. 5867 (Champollion), B.C. 5004 (Mariette), B.C. 5892 (Lepsius), B.C. 4455 (Brugsch).

2 See Chabas, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1865, p. 95. On the subject of the Antiquity of Egyptian Civilization generally, see Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique d'après les Sources Égyptiennes*, Paris, 1873--Introduction, p. 9.

3 The name of the queen and her titles are given on p. 7 (margin) thus:--

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4 It was presented to the British Museum in 1834, and is now in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities.

Todtenbuch, Bl. 23-25.

6. the *Ou?safaï's ui!o's* of Manetho.

7 *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 54.

8. See Guieyesse, *Rituel Funéraire Égyptien*, chapitre 64e, Paris, 1876, p. 10, note 2.

9. The late recension of the Book of the Dead published by Lepsius also gives the king's name as Men-kau-Ra (*Todtenbuch*, Bl. 25, l. 30. In the same recension the CXXXth Chapter is ascribed to the reign of Hesep-ti (131. 53, l. 28).

10. Naville, *Todtenbuch* (Einleitung), pp. 33, 139]

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remote period. To quote the words of Chabas, the chapter was regarded as being "very ancient, very mysterious, and very difficult to understand" already fourteen centuries before our era.[1]

Antiquity of Chapter LXIV.

The rubric on the coffin of Queen Menthu-hetep, which ascribes the chapter to Hesep-ti, states that "this chapter was found in the foundations beneath the *hennu*boat by the foreman of the builders in the time of the king of the North and South, Hesep-ti, triumphant";[2] the Nebseni papyrus says that this chapter was found in the city of Khemennu (Hermopolis) on a block of ironstone (?) written in letters of lapis-lazuli, under the feet of the god";[3] and the Turin papyrus (XXVIth dynasty or later) adds that the name of the finder was Heru-ta-ta-f, the son of Khufu or Cheops,[4] the second king of the IVth dynasty, about B.C. 3733,

who was at the time making a tour of inspection of the temples. Birch[5] and Naville[6] consider the chapter one of

[1. Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 46. According to M. Naville (Einleitung, p. 138), who follows Chabas's opinion, this chapter is an abridgement of the whole Book of the Dead; and it had, even though it contained not all the religious doctrine of the Egyptians, a value which was equivalent to the whole.

2. See Goodwin, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 55, and compare the reading from the Cairo papyrus of Mes-em-neter given by Naville (*Todtenbuch*, ii-, p. 139)

3 Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., B1. 76, L 52.

4 Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Bl. 25, 1. 31.

6 "The most remarkable chapter is the 64th . . . . . It is one of the oldest of all, and is attributed, as already stated, to the epoch of king Gaga-Makheru or Menkheres . . . . . This chapter enjoyed a high reputation till a late period, for it is found on a stone presented to General Perofski by the late Emperor Nicholas, which must have come from the tomb of Petemenophis,[*] in the El-Assasif[+] and was made during the XXVIth dynasty Some more recent compiler of the Hermetic books has evidently paraphrased it for the Ritual of Turin." Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, London, 1867, p. 1142. The block of stone to which Dr. Birch refers is described by Golénischeff, *Inventaire de la Ermitage Impérial, Collection Égyptienne*, No. 1101, pp. 169, 170. M. Maspero thinks it was meant to be a "prétendu fac-similé" of the original slab, which, according to the rubric, was found in the temple of Thoth, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. XV., p. 299, and *Études de Mythologie*, t i., p. 368.

6 *Todtenbuch* (Einleitung), p. 139. Mr. Renouf also holds this opinion, Trans. See. Bibl. Arch., 1803, p. 6.

* *I.e.*, the "chief reader." Many of the inscriptions on whose tomb have been published by Dümichen, Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap; Leipzig, 1884, 1885.

+ *I.e.*, Asasîf el-bahrîyeh, or Asasif of the north, behind Dêr el-baharî, on the western bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes.]

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the oldest in the Book of the Dead; the former basing his opinion on the rubric' and the latter upon the evidence derived from the contents and character of the text; but Maspero, while admitting the great age of the chapter, does not attach any very great importance to the rubric as fixing any exact date for its composition.[1] Of Herutataf the finder of the block of stone, we know from later texts that he was considered to be a learned man, and that his speech was only with difficulty to be understood,[2] and we also know the prominent part which he took as a recognized man of letters in bringing to the court of his father Khufu the sage Tetteta.[3] It is then not improbable that Herutataf's character for learning may have suggested the connection of his name with the chapter, and possibly as its literary reviser; at all events as early as the period of the Middle Empire tradition associated him with it.

[1. "On explique d'ordinaire cette indication comme une marque d'antiquité extrême; on part de ce principe que le *Livre des Morts* est de composition relativement moderne, et qu'un scribe égyptien, nommant un roi des premières dynasties memphites, ne pouvait entendre par là qu'un personnage d'époque très reculée. Cette explication ne me paraît pas être exacte. En premier lieu, le chapitre LXIV. se trouve déjà sur des monuments contemporains de la X[e] et de la XI[e] dynastie, et n'était certainement pas nouveau au moment où on écrivait les copies les plus vieilles que nous en ayons aujourd'hui. Lorsqu'on le rédigea sous sa forme actuelle, le règne de Mykérinos, et même celui d'Housapaiti, ne devaient pas soulever dans l'esprit des indigènes la sensation de l'archaïsme et du primitif: on avait pour rendre ces idées des expressions plus fortes, qui renvoyaient le lecteur au siècles des *Serviteurs d'Horus*, à la domination de Ra, aux âges où les dieux régnaient sur l'Égypte." *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xv., p. 299.

2 Chabas, Voyage, p. 46; Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 191. In the Brit. Mus. papyrus No. 10,060 (Harris 500), Herutataf is mentioned together with I-em-hetep as a well known author, and the writer of the dirge says, "I have heard the words of I-em-hetep and of Herutataf, whose many and varied writings are said and sung; but now where are their places?" The hieratic text is published with a hieroglyphic transcript by Maspero in *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. VII[ième], t. xv., p. 404 ff., and *Études Égyptiennes*, t. i., p. 173; for English translations, see *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 386, and *Records of the Past*, 1st ed., vol. iv., p. 117.

3 According to the Westcar papyrus, Herutataf informed his father Khufu of the existence of a man 110 years old who lived in the town of Tettet-Seneferu: he was able to join to its body again a head that had been cut off, and possessed influence over the lion, and was acquainted with the mysteries of Thoth. By Khufu's command Herutataf brought the sage to him by boat, and, on his arrival, the king ordered the head to be struck off from a prisoner that Tetteta might fasten it on again. Having excused himself from performing this act upon a man, a goose was brought and its head was cut off and laid on one side of the room and the body was placed on the other. The sage spake certain words of power whereupon the goose stood up and began to waddle, and the head also began to move towards it; when the head had joined itself again to the body the bird stood up and cackled. For the complete hieratic text, transcript and translation, see Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, Berlin, 1890, p. it, plate 6.]

The Book of the Dead in the IInd dynasty.

Passing from the region of native Egyptian tradition, we touch firm ground with the evidence derived from the monuments of the IInd dynasty. A bas-relief preserved at Aix in Provence mentions Âasen and Ankef,[1] two of the priests of Sent or Senta, the fifth king of the IInd dynasty, about B.C. 4000; and a stele at Oxford[2] and another in the Egyptian Museum at Gizeh[3] record the name of a third priest, Shera or Sheri, a "royal relative" On the stele

at Oxford we have represented the deceased and his wife seated, one on each side of an altar,[4] which is covered with funeral offerings of pious relatives; above, in perpendicular lines of hieroglyphics in relief, are the names of the objects offered,[5] and below is an inscription which reads,[6] "thousands of loaves of bread, thousands of vases of ale, thousands of linen garments, thousands of changes of wearing apparel, and thousands of oxen." Now from this monument it is evident that already in the IInd dynasty a priesthood existed in Egypt which numbered among its members relatives of the royal family, and that a religious system which prescribed as a duty the providing of meat and drink offerings for the dead was also in active operation. The offering of specific objects goes far to prove the existence of a ritual or service wherein their signification would be indicated; the coincidence of these words and the prayer for "thousands of loaves of bread, thousands of vases of ale," etc., with the promise, "Anpu-khent-Amenta shall give thee thy thousands of loaves of bread, thy thousands of vases of ale, thy thousands of vessels

[1. Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 170. In a mastaba at Sakkara we have a stele of Sheri, a superintendent of the priests of the *ka*, whereon the cartouches of Sent and Per-ab-sen both occur. See Mariette and Maspero, *Les Mastaba de l'ancien Empire*, Paris, 1882, p. 92.

2. See Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Bl. 9.

3. See Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, 1883, pp. 31, 32, and 213 (No. 1027).

4 A discussion on the method of depicting this altar on Egyptian monuments by Borchardt may be found in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXI., p. i (Die Darstellung innen verzierter Schalen auf aeg. Denkmälern).

6 Among others, (1) ###, (2) ###, (3) ###, (4) ###; the word incense is written twice, ###. Some of these appear in the lists of offerings made for Unas (l. 147) and for Teta (11. 125, 131, 133; see *Recueil de Travaux*, 1884, plate 2).

6 ###.

7 The sculptor had no room for the ### belonging to ###.]

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of unguents, thy thousands of changes of apparel, thy thousands of oxen, and thy thousands of bullocks," enables us to recognise that ritual in the text inscribed upon the pyramid of Teta in the Vth dynasty, from which the above promise is taken.[1] Thus the traditional evidence of the text on the coffin of Menthu-hetep and the scene on the monument of Shera support one another, and together they prove beyond a doubt that a form of the Book of the Dead was in use at least in the period of the earliest dynasties, and that sepulchral ceremonies connected therewith were duly performed.[2]

The Book of the Dead in the IVth dynasty.

With the IVth dynasty we have an increased number of monuments, chiefly sepulchral, which give details as to the Egyptian sacerdotal system and the funeral ceremonies which the priests performed.[3] The inscriptions upon the earlier

[1. ###. Teta, II. 388, 389. (*Recueil*, ed. Maspero, t. v., p. 58.)

2 The arguments brought forward here in proof of the great antiquity of a religious system in Egypt are supplemented in a remarkable manner by the inscriptions found in the mastaba of Seker-kha-baiu at Sakkara. Here we have a man who, like Shera, was a "royal relative" and a priest, but who, unlike him, exercised some of the highest functions of the Egyptian priesthood in virtue of his title *xerp hem*. (On the ###[*] see Max Müller, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. ix., p. 166; Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 218; and Maspero, *Un Manuel de Hiérarchie Égyptienne*, p. 9.)

Among the offerings named in the tomb are the substances ### and ### which are also mentioned on the stele of Shera of the IInd dynasty, and in the texts of the VIth dynasty. But the tomb of Seker-kha-baiu is different from any other known to us, both as regards the form and cutting of the hieroglyphics, which are in relief, and the way in which they are disposed and grouped. The style of the whole monument is rude and very primitive, and it cannot be attributed to any dynasty later than the second, or even to the second itself; it must, therefore, have been built during the first dynasty, or in the words of MM. Mariette and Maspero, "L'impression générale que l'on reçoit au premier aspect du tombeau No. 5, est celle d'une extrême antiquité. Rien en effet de ce que nous sommes habitués à voir dans les autres tombeaux ne se retrouve ici . . . Le monument . . . . est certainement le plus ancien de ceux que nous connaissons dans la plaine de Saqqarah, et il n'y a pas de raison pour qu'il ne soit pas de la I[re] Dynastie." *Les Mastaba de l'ancien Empire*; Paris, 1882, p. 73. Because there is no incontrovertible proof that this tomb belongs to the Ist dynasty, the texts on the stele of Shera, a monument of a later dynasty, have been adduced as the oldest evidences of the antiquity of a fixed religious system and literature in Egypt.

3. Many of the monuments commonly attributed to this dynasty should more correctly be described as being the work of the IInd dynasty; see Maspero, Geschichte der *Morgenlänsdischen Völker im Alterthum* (trans. Pietschmann), Leipzig, 1877, p. 56; Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte* p. 170.

* Ptah-shepses bore this title; see Mariette and Maspero, *Les Mastaba*, p. 113.]

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monuments prove that many of the priestly officials were still relatives of the royal family, and the tombs of feudal lords, scribes, and others, record a number of their official titles, together with the names of several of their religious festivals. The subsequent increase in the number of the monuments during this period may be due to the natural development of the religion of the time, but it is very probable that the greater security of life and property which had been assured by the vigorous wars of Seneferu,[1] the first king of this dynasty, about B.C. 3766, encouraged men to incur greater expense, and to build larger and better abodes for the dead, and to celebrate the full ritual at the prescribed festivals. In this dynasty the royal dead were honoured with sepulchral monuments of a greater size and magnificence than had ever before been contemplated, and the chapels attached to the pyramids were served by courses of priests whose sole duties consisted in celebrating the services. The fashion of building a pyramid instead of the rectangular flat-roofed mastaba for a royal tomb was revived by Seneferu,[2] who called his pyramid Kha; and his example was followed by his

immediate successors, Khufu (Cheops), Khaf-Ra (Chephren), Men-kau-Ra (Mycerinus), and others.

Revision of certain chapters in the IVth dynasty.

In the reign of Mycerinus some important work seems to have been under taken in connection with certain sections of the text of the Book of the Dead, for the rubrics of Chapters XXXB. and CXLVIII.[3] state that these compositions were found inscribed upon "a block of iron(?) of the south in letters of real lapis-lazuli under the feet of the majesty of the god in the time of the King it of the North and South Men-kau-Ra, by the royal son Herutataf, triumphant." That a new impulse should be given to religious observances, and that the revision of existing religious texts should take place in the reign of Mycerinus, was only to be expected if Greek tradition may be believed, for both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus represent him as a just king, and one who was anxious to efface from the minds of the people the memory of the alleged cruelty of his

[1. He conquered the peoples in the Sinaitic peninsula, and according to a text of a later date he built a wall to keep out the Aamu from Egypt. In the story of Saneha a "pool of Seneferu" is mentioned, which shows that his name was well known on the frontiers of Egypt. See Golénischeff, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, p. 110; Maspero, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, t. iii., Paris, 1876, p. 71, 1. 2; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii., 2a.

2 The building of the pyramid of Mêdûm has usually been attributed to Seneferu, but the excavations made there in 1882 did nothing to clear up

the uncertainty which exists on this point; for recent excavations see Petrie, Medum, London, 1892, 40.

3 For the text see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Bl. 99; Bd. I., Bl. 167.]

predecessor by re-opening the temples and by letting every man celebrate his own sacrifices and discharge his own religious duties.[1] His pyramid is the one now known as the "third pyramid of Gizeh," under which he was buried in a chamber vertically below the apex and 60 feet below the level of the ground. Whether the pyramid was finished or not[2] when the king died, his body was certainly laid in it, and notwithstanding all the attempts made by the Muhammadan rulers of Egypt[3] to destroy it at the end of the 12th century of our era, it has survived to yield up important facts for the history of the Book of the Dead.

Evidence of the Inscription on the coffin of Mycerinus.

In 1837 Colonel Howard Vyse succeeded in forcing the entrance. On the 29th of July he commenced operations, and on the 1st of August he made his way into the sepulchral chamber, where, however, nothing was found but a rectangular stone sarcophagous[4] without the lid. The large stone slabs of the floor and the linings of the wall had been in many instances removed by thieves in search of treasure. In a lower chamber, connected by a passage with the sepulchral chamber, was found the greater part of the lid of the

sarcophagus,[5] together with portions of a wooden coffin, and part of the body of a man, consisting of ribs and vertebrae and the bones of the legs and feet, enveloped

[1. Herodotus, ii., 129, 1; Diodorus, i., 64, 9.

2. According to Diodorus, he died before it was completed (i., 64, 7).

3. According to 'Abd el-Latif the Khalif's name was Mâmûn, but M. de Sacy doubted that he was the first to attempt this work; the authorities on the subject are all given in his*Relation de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1810, p. 215-221. Tradition, as represented in the "Arabian Nights," says that Al-Mâmûn was minded to pull down the Pyramids, and that he expended a mint of money in the attempt; he succeeded, however, only in opening up a small tunnel in one of them, wherein it is said he found treasure to the exact amount of the moneys which he had spent in the work, and neither more nor less. The Arabic writer Idrîsî, who wrote about A.H. 623 (A.D. 1226), states that a few years ago the "Red Pyramid," *i.e.*, that of Mycerinus, was opened on the north side. After passing through various passages a room was reached wherein was found a long blue vessel, quite empty. The opening into this pyramid was effected by people who were in search of treasure; they worked at it with axes for six months, and they were in great numbers. They found in this basin, after they had broken the covering of it, the decayed remains of a man, but no treasures, excepting some golden tablets inscribed with characters of a language which nobody could understand. Each man's share of these tablets amounted to one hundred dinars (about � 50). Other legendary history says that the western pyramid contains thirty chambers of parti-coloured syenite full of precious gems and costly weapons anointed with unguents that they may not rust until the day of the Resurrection. See Howard Vyse, *The Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. ii., pp. 71, 72; and Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*; 1885, vol. v., p. 105, and vol. x., p. 150.

4 Vyse, The Pyramids of Gizeh, vol. ii., p. 84. A fragment of this sarcophagus is exhibited in the British Museum, First Egyptian Room, Case A, No. 6646.

5 With considerable difficulty this interesting monument was brought out from the pyramid by Mr. Raven, and having been cased in strong timbers, was sent off to the British Museum. It was embarked at Alexandria in the autumn of 1838, on board a merchant ship, which was supposed to have been lost off Carthagena, as she never was heard of after her departure from

Leghorn on the 12th of October in that year, and as some parts of the wreck were picked up near the former port. The sarcophagus is figured by Vyse, Pyramids, vol. ii., plate facing p. 84.]

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in a coarse woollen cloth of a yellow colour, to which a small quantity of resinous substance and gum adhered.[1] It would therefore seem that, as the sarcophagus could not be removed, the wooden case alone containing the body had been brought into the large apartment for examination. Now, whether the human remains' there found are those of Mycerinus or of some one else, as some have suggested, in no way affects the question of the ownership of the coffin, for we know by the hieroglyphic inscription upon it that it was made to hold the mummified body of the king. This inscription, which is arranged in two perpendicular lines down the front of the coffin reads:--[3]

Ausar suten net[4] Men-kau-Ra anx t'etta mes en pet aur

King of the North and South Men-kau-Ra, living for ever, born of heaven, conceived of

Nut a a en Seb[5] mer-f peses-s mut-k Nut her-k

Nut, heir of Seb, his beloved. Spreadeth she thy mother Nut over thee

[1. As a considerable misapprehension about the finding of these remains has existed, the account of the circumstances under which they were discovered will be of interest. "Sir, by your request, I send you the particulars of the finding of the bones, mummy-cloth, and parts of the coffin in the Third Pyramid. In clearing the rubbish out of the large entrance-room, after the men had been employed there several days and had advanced some distance towards the south-eastern corner, some bones were first discovered at the bottom of the rubbish; and the remaining bones and parts of the coffin were immediately discovered all together. No other parts of the coffin or bones could be found in the room; I therefore had the rubbish which had been previously turned out of the same room carefully re-examined, when several pieces of the coffin and of the mummy-cloth were found; but in no other part of the pyramid were any parts of it to be discovered, although every place was most minutely examined, to make the coffin as complete as possible. There was about three feet of rubbish on the top of the same; and from the circumstance of the bones and part of the coffin being all found together, it appeared as if the coffin had been brought to that spot and there unpacked.--H. Raven." Vyse, *Pyramids*, vol. ii., p. 86.

2. They are exhibited in the First Egyptian Room, Case A, and the fragments of the coffin in Wall Case No. 1 (No. 6647) in the same room.

3. See Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Taf. 7.

4. Or *suten bat*; see Sethe, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXVIII., p. 125; and Bd. XXX, p. 113; Max Müller, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXX., p. 56; Renouf, *Proc. Son Bibl. Arch.*, 1893, pp. 219, 220; and Lefébure, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXI., p. 114 ff.

5. It seems that we should read this god's name Keb (see Lefébure, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXI., p. 12 5); for the sake of uniformity the old name is here retained.]

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em ren-s en seta pet ertat-nes un-k em neter

in her name of "mystery of heaven," she granteth that thou mayest exist as a god

an xeft-k suten net Men-kau-Ra anx t'etta

without thy foes, O King of the North and South, Men-kau-Ra, living for ever!

Now it is to be noted that the passage, "Thy mother Nut spreadeth herself over thee in her name of 'Mystery of Heaven,' she granteth that thou mayest be without enemies," occurs in the texts which are inscribed upon the pyramids built by the kings of the VIth dynasty,[1] and thus we have evidence of the use of the same version of one religious text both in the IVth and in the VIth dynasties.[2]

Even if we were to admit that the coffin is a forgery of the XXVIth dynasty, and that the inscription upon it was taken from an edition of the text of the Book of the Dead, still the value of the monument as an evidence of the antiquity of the Book of the Dead is scarcely impaired, for those who added the inscription would certainly have chosen it from a text of the time of Mycerinus.

The Book of the Dead in the Vth dynasty.

In the Vth dynasty we have--in an increased number of mastabas and other monuments--evidence of the extension of religious ceremonials, including the

[1. See the texts of Teta and Pepi I. in Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. V., pp. 20, 38 (ll. 175, 279), and pp. 165, T73 (ll. 60, 103), *etc.*

2. So far back as 1883, M. Maspero, in lamenting (Guide du Visiteur de Boulaq, p. 310) the fact that the Bûlâq Museum possessed only portions of wooden coffins of the Ancient Empire and no complete example, noticed that the coffin of Mycerinus, preserved in the British Museum, had been declared by certain Egyptologists to be a "restoration" of the XXVIth dynasty, rather than the work of the IVth dynasty, in accordance with the inscription upon it; but like Dr. Birch he was of opinion that the coffin certainly belonged to the IVth dynasty, and adduced in support of his views the fact of the existence of portions of a similar coffin of Seker-em-sa-f, a king of the VIth dynasty. Recently, however, an attempt has again been made (*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXX., p. 94 ff.) to prove by the agreement of the variants in the text on the coffin of Mycerinus with those of texts of the XXVIth dynasty, that the Mycerinus text is of this late period, or at all events not earlier than the time of Psammetichus. But it is admitted on all hands that in the XXVIth dynasty the Egyptians resuscitated texts of the first dynasties of the Early Empire, and that they copied the arts and literature of that period as far as possible, and, this being so, the texts on the monuments which have been made the standard of comparison for that on the coffin of Mycerinus may be themselves at fault in their variants. If the text on the cover could be proved to differ as much from an undisputed IVth dynasty text as it does from those even of the VIth dynasty, the philological argument might have some weight; but even this would not get rid of the fact that the cover itself is a genuine relic of the IVth dynasty.]

celebration of funeral rites; but a text forming the Book of the Dead as a whole does not occur until the reign of Unas (B.C. 3333), the last king of the dynasty, who according to the Turin papyrus reigned thirty years. This monarch built on the plain of Sakkâra a stone pyramid about sixty-two feet high, each side measuring about two hundred feet at the base. In the time of Perring and Vyse it was surrounded by heaps of broken stone and rubbish, the

result of repeated attempts to open it, and with the casing stones, which consisted of compact limestone from the quarries of Tura.[1] In February, 1881, M. Maspero began to clear the pyramid, and soon after he succeeded in making an entrance into the innermost chambers, the walls of which were covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions, arranged in perpendicular lines and painted in green.[2] The condition of the interior showed that at some time or other thieves had already succeeded in making an entrance, for the cover of the black basalt sarcophagus of Unas had been wrenched off and moved near the door of the sarcophagus chamber; the paving stones had been pulled up in the vain attempt to find buried treasure; the mummy had been broken to pieces, and nothing remained of it except the right arm, a tibia, and some fragments of the skull and body. The inscriptions which covered certain walls and corridors in the tomb were afterwards published by M. Maspero.[3] The appearance of the text of Unas[4] marks an era in the history of the Book of the Dead, and its translation must be regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of Egyptological decipherment, for the want of determinatives in many places in the text, and the archaic spelling of many of the words and passages presented difficulties which were not easily overcome.[6] Here, for the first time, it was shown that the Book of the Dead

was no compilation of a comparatively late period in the history of Egyptian civilization, but a work belonging to a very remote antiquity; and it followed naturally that texts which were then known, and which were thought to be themselves original ancient texts, proved to be only versions which had passed through two or more successive revisions.

[1. Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, p. 51

2. Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. 78.

3. See *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., pp. 177-224; t. iv., pp. 41-78.

4. In 1881 Dr. Brugsch described two pyramids of the VIth dynasty inscribed with religious texts similar to those found in the pyramid of Unas, and translated certain passages (Aeg. Zeitschrift, Bd., xix., pp. 1-15); see also Birch in Trans. Son Bibl. Arch., 1881, p. iii ff.

5 The pyramid which bore among the Arabs the name of *Mastabat el-Far'ûn*, or "Pharaoh's Bench," was excavated by Mariette in 1858, and, because he found the name of Unas painted on certain blocks of stone, he concluded that it was the tomb of Unas. M. Maspero's excavations have, as Dr. Lepsius observes (*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XIX., p. 15), set the matter right.]

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The Book of the Dead in the VIth dynasty

Evidence of the text of the pyramid of Teta;

Continuing his excavations at Sakkâra, M. Maspero opened the pyramid Of Teta,[1] king of Egypt about B.C. 3300, which Vyse thought[2] had never been entered, and of which, in his day, the masonry on one side only could be seen. Here again it was found

that thieves had already been at work, and that they had smashed in pieces walls, floors, and many other parts of the chambers in their frantic search for treasure. As in the case of the pyramid of Unas, certain chambers, etc., of this tomb were found covered with inscriptions in hieroglyphics, but of a smaller size.[3] A brief examination of the text showed it to be formed of a series of extracts from the Book of the Dead, some of which were identical with those in the pyramid of Unas. Thus was brought to light a Book of the Dead of the time of the first king 4 of the VIth dynasty.

and of the pyramid of Pepi I., Mer-en-Ra, and Pepi II.

The pyramid of Pepi I., king of Egypt about B.C. 3233, was next opened.[5] It is situated in the central group at Sakkâra, and is commonly known as the pyramid of Shêkh Abu-Mansûr.[6] Certain chambers and other parts of the tomb were found to be covered with hieroglyphic texts, which not only repeated in part those which had been found in the pyramids of Unas and Teta, but also contained a considerable number of additional sections of the Book of the Dead.[7] In the same neighbourhood M. Maspero, cleared out the pyramid of Mer-en-Ra, the fourth king of the VIth dynasty, about B.C. 3200;[8] and the pyramid of Pepi II., the fifth king of the VIth dynasty, about B.C. 3166.[9]

[1. The mummy of the king had been taken out of the sarcophagus through a hole which the thieves had made in it; it was broken by them in pieces, and the only remains of it found by M. Maspero consisted of an arm and shoulder. Parts of the wooden coffin are preserved in the Gizeh Museum.

2. *The Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii., p. 39.

3. They were copied in 1882, and published by M. Maspero in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., pp. 1-59.

4. The broken mummy of this king, together with fragments of its bandages, was found lying on the floor.

5. See Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii., p. 5

6. It had been partially opened by Mariette in May, 1880, but the clearance of sand was not effected until early in 1881.

7. The full text is given by Maspero in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., pp. 157-58, Paris, 1884; t. vii., pp. 145-76, Paris, 1886; and t. viii., pp. 87-120, Paris, 1886.

8. It was opened early in January, 1880, by Mariette, who seeing that the sarcophagus chamber was inscribed, abandoned his theory that pyramids never contained inscriptions, or that if they did they were not royal tombs. The hieroglyphic texts were published by Maspero in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. ix., pp. 177-91, Paris, 1887; t. X, pp. 1-29, Paris, 1388; and t. xi., pp. 1-31, Paris, 1889. The alabaster vase in the British Museum, NQ 4493, came from this pyramid.

9. This pyramid is a little larger than the others of the period, and is built in steps of small stones; it is commonly called by the Arabs *Haram el Mastabat*, because it is near the building usually called *Mastabat el-Far'ûn*. See Vyse, *Pyramids*, vol. iii., p. 52. The hieroglyphic texts are published by Maspero in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. xii., pp. 53-95, and pp. 136-95, Paris, 1892; and t. xiv., pp. 125-52, Paris, 1892. There is little doubt that this pyramid was broken into more than once in Christian times, and that the early collectors of Egyptian antiquities obtained the beautiful alabaster vases inscribed with the cartouches and titles of Pepi II. from those who had access to the sarcophagus chamber. Among such objects in the British Museum collection, Nos. 4492, 22,559, 22,758 and 22,817 are fine examples.]

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Summary of the monumental evidence.

Thus we have before the close of the VIth dynasty five copies of a series of texts which formed the Book of the Dead of that period, and an extract from a well-known passage of that work on the wooden coffin of Mycerinus; we have also seen from a number of mastabas and stelæ that the funeral ceremonies connected with the Book of the Dead were performed certainly in the IInd, and with almost equal certainty in the Ist dynasty. It is easy to show that certain sections of the Book of the Dead of this period were copied and used in the following dynasties down to a period about A.D. 200.

The Book of the Dead a collection of separate works.

The fact that not only in the pyramids of Unas and Teta, but also in those of Pepi I. and his immediate successors, we find selected passages, suggests that the Book of the Dead was, even in those early times, so extensive that even a king was fain to make from it a selection only of the passages which suited his individual taste or were considered sufficient to secure his welfare in the next world. In the pyramids of Teta, Pepi I., Mer-en-Ra and Pepi II. are found many texts which are identical with those employed by their predecessors, and an examination of the inscription of Pepi II. will show that about three-fourths of the whole may be found in the monuments of his ancestors. What principle guided

each king in the selection of his texts, or whether the additions in each represent religious developments, it is impossible to say; but, as the Egyptian religion cannot have remained stationary in every particular, it is probable that some texts reflect the changes in the opinions of the priests upon matters of doctrine.[1] The "Pyramid Texts" prove that each section of the religious books of the Egyptians was originally a separate and independent composition, that it was written with a definite object, and that it might be arranged in any order in a series of similar texts. What preceded or what followed it was never taken into

[1. A development has been observed in the plan of ornamenting the interiors of the pyramids of the Vth and VIth dynasties. In that of Unas about one-quarter of the sarcophagus chamber is covered with architectural decorations, and the hieroglyphics are large, well spaced, and enclosed in broad lines. But as we advance in the VIth dynasty, the space set apart for decorative purposes becomes less, the hieroglyphics are smaller, the lines are crowded, and the inscriptions overflow into the chambers and corridors, which in the Vth dynasty were left blank. See Maspero in *Revue des Religions*, t. xi., p. 124.]

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consideration by the scribe, although it seems, at times, as if traditions had assigned a sequence to certain texts.

Historical reference.

That events of contemporary history were sometimes reflected in the Book of the Dead of the early dynasties is proved by the

following. We learn from the inscription upon the tomb of Heru-khuf at Aswân,[1] that this governor of Elephantine was ordered to bring for king Pepi II.[2] a pigmy,[3] from the interior of Africa, to dance before the king and amuse him; and he was promised that, if he succeeded in bringing the pigmy alive and in good health, his majesty would confer upon him a higher rank and dignity than that which king Assa conferred upon his minister Ba-ur-Tettet, who performed this much appreciated service for his master.[4] Now Assa was the eighth king of the Vth dynasty, and Pepi II. was the fifth king of the VIth dynasty, and between the reigns of these kings there was, according to M. Maspero, an interval of at least sixty-four, but more probably eighty, years. But in the text in the pyramid of Pepi I., which must have been drafted at some period between the reigns of these kings, we have the passage, "Hail thou who [at thy will] makest to pass over to the Field of Aaru the soul that is right and true, or dost make shipwreck of it. Ra-meri (*i.e.*, Pepi I.) is right and true in respect of heaven and in respect of earth, Pepi is right and true in respect of the island of the earth whither he swimmeth and where he arriveth. He who is between the thighs of Nut (*i.e.*, Pepi) is the pigmy who danceth [like] the god, and who pleaseth the heart

[1. The full text from this tomb and a discussion on its contents are given by Schiaparelli, *Una tomba egiziana inedita della VI^a dinastia con inscrizioni storiche e geografiche*, in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, anno CCLXXXIX., Ser. 4^a, Classe di Scienze Morali, etc., t. x., Rome, 1893, pp. 22-53. This text has been treated by Erman (*Z.D.M.G.*, Bd. XLVI., 1892, p. 574 ff.), who first pointed out the reference to the pigmy in the pyramid texts, and by Maspero in Revue Critique, Paris, 1892, p. 366.

2 See Erman in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXI., p. 65 ff.

3 On the pigmy see Stanley, *Darkest Africa*, vol. i., p. 198; vol. ii., p. 40f; Schweinfurth, *Im Herzen von Africa*, Bd. II., Kap. 16, p. 131 ff. That the pigmies paid tribute to the Egyptians is certain from the passage "The pigmies came to him from the lands of the south having things of service for his palace"; see Dümichen, *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*, Berlin, 1887, p. 7.

4. ###.]

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of the god [Osiris] before his great throne. . . . The two beings who are over the throne of the great god proclaim Pepi to be sound and healthy, [therefore] Pepi shall sail in the boat to the beautiful field of the great god, and he shall do therein that which is done by those to whom veneration is due."[1] Here clearly we have a reference to the historical fact of the importation of a pigmy from the regions south of Nubia; and the idea which seems to have been uppermost in the mind of him that drafted the text was that as the pigmy pleased the king for whom he was brought in this world, even so might the dead Pepi please the god Osiris[2] in the next world. As the pigmy was brought by boat to the king, so might Pepi be brought by boat to the island wherein the god

dwelt; as the conditions made by the king were fulfilled by him that brought the pigmy, even so might the conditions made by Osiris concerning the dead be fulfilled by him that transported Pepi to his presence. The wording of the passage amply justifies the assumption that this addition was made to the text after the mission of Assa, and during the VIth dynasty.[3]

Authorship of the Book of the Dead.

Like other works of a similar nature, however, the pyramid texts afford us no information as to their authorship. In the later versions of the Book of the Dead certain chapters[4] are stated to be the work of the god Thoth. They certainly belong to that class of literature which the Greeks called "Hermetic,"[5] and it is pretty certain that under some group they were included in the list of the forty-two works which, according to Clement of Alexandria,[6] constituted the sacred books of the Egyptians.[7] As Thoth, whom the Greeks called Hermes, is in Egyptian texts styled "lord of divine books,"[8] "scribe of the company of the gods,"[9] and "lord of divine speech,"[10] this ascription is well founded. The

[1. For the hieroglyphic text see Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. vii., pp. 162, 163; and t. xi., p. ii.

2 Pietschmann thinks (*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXI., p. 73 f) that the Satyrs, who are referred to by Diodorus (i., XVIII) as the companions and associates of Osiris in Ethiopia, have their origin in the pigmies.

3. The whole question of the pigmy in the text of Pepi I. has been discussed by Maspero in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. xiv., p. 186 ff.

4. Chapp. 30B, 164, 37B and 148. Although these chapters were found at Hermopolis, the city of Thoth, it does not follow that they were drawn up there.

5. See Birch, in Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. V., p. 125; Naville, *Todtenbuch* (Einleitung), p. 26.

6. *Stromata*, VI., 4, 35, ed. Dindorff, t. iii., p. 155.

7. On the sacred books of the Egyptians see also Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, ed. Parthey, Berlin 1857, pp. 260, 261; Lepsius, *Chronologie*, p. 45 ff.; and Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 149.

8. ###.

9. ###.

10. ###.]

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Influence of the priests of Annu on its compilation.

pyramid texts are versions of ancient religious compositions which the priests of the college or school of Annu[1] succeeded in establishing as the authorized version of the Book of the Dead in the first six dynasties. Ra, the local form of the Sun-god, usurps the place occupied by the more ancient form Tmu; and it would seem that when a dogma had been promulgated by the college of Annu, it was accepted by the priesthood of all the great cities

throughout Egypt. The great influence of the Annu school of priests even in the time of Unas is proved by the following passage from the text in his pyramid: "O God, thy Annu is Unas; O God, thy Annu is Unas. O Ra, Annu is Unas, thy Annu is Unas, O Ra. The mother of Unas is Annu, the father of Unas is Annu; Unas himself is Annu, and was born in Annu."[2] Elsewhere we are told that Unas "cometh to the great bull which cometh forth from Annu,[3] and that he uttereth words of magical import in Annu."[4] In Annu the god Tmu produced the gods Shu and Tefnut,[5] and in Annu dwelt the great and oldest company of the gods, Tmu, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set and Nephthys.[6] The abode of the blessed in heaven was called[7] Annu, and it was asserted that the souls of

[1 *Annu*, the metropolis of the thirteenth nome of Lower Egypt; see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 41; de Rougé, *Géographie Ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, p. 81; and Amélineau, *La Géographie de Égypte a l'Époque Copte*, p. 287. Annu is ###, Genesis xli., 45; ###, Genesis xli., 50; ### Ezekiel xxx., 17; and Beth Shemesh, ### 4:11 Jeremiah xliii., 13; and the Heliopolis of the Greek writers (*H?liou'polis*, Strabo, XVII., 1., È 27, 28; Herodotus, II., 3; Diodorus, I., 57, 4).

2. ###. Maspero, Unas, II. 591, 592; and compare Pepi I., II. 690, 691.

3. See line 596.

4. ###.

5. ###. Maspero, *Pepi I.*, 1. 465, 466.

6. *The Pyramid of Pepi II.*, 1. 665.

7. In reading Egyptian religious texts, the existence of the heavenly Annu, which was to the Egyptians what Jerusalem was to the Jews, and what Mecca still is to the Mubammadans, must be remembered. The heavenly Annu was the capital of the mythological world (see Naville, *Todtenbuch* (Einleitung), p. 27), and was, to the spirits of men, what the earthly Annu was to their bodies, *i.e.*, the abode of the gods and the centre and source of all divine instruction. Like many other mythological cities, such as Abtu, Tattu, Pe, Tep, Khemennu, *etc.*, the heavenly Annu had no geographical position.]

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the just were there united to their spiritual or glorified bodies, and that they lived there face to face with the deity for all eternity.[1] judging from the fact that the texts in the tombs of Heru-hetep and Neferu, and those inscribed upon the sarcophagus of Taka, all of the XIth and XIIth dynasties, differ in extent only and not in character or contents from those of the royal pyramids of Sakkâra of the Vth and VIth dynasties, it has been declared that the religion as well as the art of the first Theban empire are nothing but a slavish copy of those of northern Egypt.[2]

The Theban version.

The Theban version, which was much used in Upper Egypt from the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasty, was commonly written on papyri in the hieroglyphic character. The text is written in black ink in perpendicular rows of hieroglyphics, which are separated from

each other by black lines; the titles of the chapters or sections, and certain parts of the chapters and the rubrics belonging thereto, are written in red ink. A steady development in the illumination of the vignettes is observable in the papyri of this period. At the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty the vignettes are in black outline, but we see from the papyrus of Hunefer (Brit. Mus. No. 9901), who was an overseer of cattle of Seti I., king of Egypt about B.C. 1370, that the vignettes are painted in reds, greens, yellows, white, and other colours, and that the whole of the text and

[1. The importance of Annu and its gods in the VIth dynasty is well indicated by a prayer from the pyramid of Pepi II. (for the texts see Maspero, *Recueil*, t. x., p. 8, and t. xii., p. 146), which reads:

"Hail, ye great nine gods who dwell in Annu, grant ye that Pepi may flourish, and grant ye that this pyramid of Pepi, this building built for eternity, may flourish, even as the name of the god Tmu, the chief of the great company of the nine gods, doth flourish. If the name of Shu, the lord of the celestial shrine in Annu flourisheth, then Pepi shall flourish, and this his pyramid shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all eternity. If the name of Tefnut, the lady of the terrestrial shrine in Annu endureth, the name of Pepi shall endure, and this pyramid shall endure to all eternity. If the name of Seb . . . . . flourisheth the name of Pepi shall flourish, and this pyramid shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all eternity. If the name of Nut flourisheth in the temple of Shenth in Annu, the name of Pepi shall flourish, and this pyramid shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all eternity. If the name of Osiris flourisheth in This, the name of Pepi shall flourish, and this pyramid shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all eternity. If the name of Osiris Khent-Amenta flourisheth, the name of Pepi shall flourish, and this pyramid shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all eternity. If the name of Set flourisheth in Nubt, the name of Pepi

shall flourish, and this pyramid shall flourish, and this his work shall endure to all eternity."

2. Maspero, *la Religion Égyptienne d'après les Pyramides de la VIe et de la VIIe dynastie*, (In Revue des Religions, t. xii., pp. 138, 139.)]

Palæography of the version.

vignettes are enclosed in a red and yellow border. Originally the text was the most important part of the work, and both it and its vignettes were the work of the scribe; gradually, however, the brilliantly illuminated vignettes were more and more cared for, and when the skill of the scribe failed, the artist was called in. In many fine papyri of the Theban period it is altar that the whole plan of the vignettes of a papyrus was set out by artists, who often failed to leave sufficient space for the texts to which they belonged; in consequence many lines of chapters are often omitted, and the last few lines of some texts are so much crowded as to be almost illegible. The frequent clerical errors also show that while an artist of the greatest skill might be employed on the vignettes, the execution of the text was left to an ignorant or careless scribe. Again, the artist at times arranged his vignettes in wrong order, and it is occasionally evident that neither artist nor scribe understood the matter upon which he was engaged. According to M. Maspero[1] the scribes of the VIth

dynasty did not understand the texts which they were drafting, and in the XIXth dynasty the scribe of a papyrus now preserved at Berlin knew or cared so little about the text which he was copying that he transcribed the LXXVIIth Chapter from the wrong end, and apparently never discovered his error although he concluded the chapter with its title.[2] Originally each copy of the Book of the Dead was written to order, but soon the custom obtained of preparing copies with blank spaces in which the name of the purchaser might be inserted; and many of the errors in spelling and most of the omissions of words are no doubt due to the haste with which such "stock" copies were written by the members of the priestly caste, whose profession it was to copy them.

Theban papyri.

The papyri upon which copies of the Theban version were written vary in length from about 20 to go feet, and in width from 14 to 18 inches; in the XVIIIth dynasty the layers of the papyrus are of a thicker texture and of a darker colour than in the succeeding dynasties. The art of making great lengths of papyrus of light colour and fine texture attained its highest perfection in the XIXth dynasty. An examination of Theban papyri shows that the work of writing and illuminating a fine copy of the Book of the Dead

was frequently distributed between two or more groups of artists and scribes, and that the sections were afterwards joined up into a whole. Occasionally by error two groups of men would transcribe the same chapter; hence in the papyrus of Ani, Chapter XVIII. occurs twice (see within, p. cxlviii.).

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 62.

2. Naville, *Todtenbuch* (Einleitung), pp. 41-43.]

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Selection and arrangement of chapters.

The sections or chapters of the Theban version are a series of separate and distinct compositions, which, like the sections of the pyramid texts, had no fixed order either on coffins or in papyri. Unlike these texts, however, with very few exceptions each composition had a special title and vignette which indicate its purpose. The general selection of the chapters for a papyrus seems to have been left to the individual fancy of the purchaser or scribe, but certain of them were no doubt absolutely necessary for the preservation of the body of the deceased in the tomb, and for the welfare of his soul in its new state of existence. Traditional selections would probably be respected, and recent

selections approved by any dominant school of religious thought in Egypt were without doubt accepted.

Change in forms.

While in the period of the pyramid texts the various sections were said or sung by priests, probably assisted by some members of the family of the deceased, the welfare of his soul and body being proclaimed for him as an established fact in the Theban version the hymns and prayers to the gods were put into the mouth of the deceased. As none but the great and wealthy could afford the ceremonies which were performed in the early dynasties, economy was probably the chief cause of this change, which had come about at Thebes as early as the XIIth dynasty. Little by little the ritual portions of the Book of the Dead disappeared, until finally, in the Theban version, the only chapters of this class which remain are the XXIInd, XXIIIrd, CVth, and CLIst.[1] Every chapter and prayer of this version was to be said in the next world, where the words, properly uttered, enabled the deceased to overcome every foe and to attain to the life of the perfected soul which dwelt in a spiritual body in the abode of the blessed.

Theban title of the Book of the Dead.

The common name for the Book of the Dead in the Theban period, and probably also before this date, is *per em hru*, which words have been variously translated manifested in the light," "coming forth from the day," coming forth by day," "la manifestation au jour," "la manifestation à la lumière," [Kapitel von] der Erscheinung im Lichte," "Erscheinen am Tage," "[Caput] egrediendi in lucem," *etc.* This name, however, had probably a meaning for the Egyptians which has not yet been rendered in a modern language, and one important idea in connection with the whole work is expressed by another title[2] which calls it "the chapter of making strong (or perfect) the Khu."

[1. See Naville, *Todtenbuch* (Einleitung), p. 20. On the titles "Book of the Dead" and "Ritual Funéraire" which have been given to these texts, see Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, p. 3; De Rougé,*Revue Archéologique*, N.S., t. i., 1860, pp. 69-100.

2. See Naville, Einleitung, p. 24.]

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Continuity of doctrine

In the Theban version the main principles of the Egyptian religion which were held in the times when the pyramid texts were written are maintained, and the views concerning the eternal existence of the soul remain unaltered. Many passages in the work, however, show that modifications and developments in details have taken

place, and much that is not met with in the early dynasties appears, so far as we know, for the first time. The vignettes too are additions to the work; but, although they depict scenes in the life beyond the grave, they do not seem to form a connected series, and it is doubtful if they are arranged on any definite plan. A general idea of the contents of this version may be gathered from the following list of chapters[1]:--

Theban version: list of chapters.

Chapter I. Here begin the Chapters of "Coming forth by day," and of the songs of praise and glorifying,[2] and of coming forth from, and going into, the underworld.[3]

Vignette: The funeral procession from the house of the dead to the tomb.

Chapter IB. The Chapter of making the mummy to go into the *tuat*[4] on the day of the burial.[5]

Vignette: Anubis standing by the bier upon which the mummy of the deceased is laid.

Chapter II. [The Chapter of] coming forth by day and of living after death.

Vignette: A man standing, holding a staff.

Chapter III.* Another Chapter like unto it (*i.e.*, like Chapter II).[6]

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter IV.* Another Chapter of passing along the way over the earth.

This Chapter has no vignette.

[1. The various chapters of the Book of the Dead were numbered by Lepsius in his edition of tile Turin papyrus in 1842. This papyrus, however, is a product of the Ptolemaic period, and contains a number of chapters which are wanting in the Theban version. For convenience, Lepsius' numbers are retained, and the chapters which belong to the Saïte version are indicated by an asterisk. For the hieroglyphic text see Naville, Einleitung, p. 193 ff.

2. Another title reads:--"The Chapter of going in to the divine chiefs of Osiris on the day of the burial, and of going in after coming forth." This chapter had to be recited on the day of the burial.

3. *neter xert*, the commonest name for the tomb.

4. The Egyptian underworld.

5. *sam ta*, "the union with the earth."

6. In some papyri Chapters II. and III. are united and have only one title; see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., B1. 6.]

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Theban version: list of chapters.

Chapter V. The Chapter of not allowing the deceased to do work in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased kneeling on one knee.

Chapter VI. The Chapter of making *ushabtiu* figures do work for a man in the underworld.

Vignette: An *ushabti* figure

Chapter VII. The Chapter of passing over the back of Apep, the evil one.

Vignette: The deceased spearing a serpent.

Chapter VIII. Another Chapter of the *tuat*, and of coming forth by day.

Vignette: The deceased kneeling before a ram.

Chapter IX. The Chapter of passing through the tuat.

Vignette: The deceased kneeling before a ram.

Chapter X. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter XLVIII.)

Chapter XI.* The Chapter of coming forth against his enemies in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XII. Another Chapter of going into, and coming forth from, the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XIII. The Chapter of going into, and of coming forth, from Amentet. This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XIV. The Chapter of driving away shame from the heart of the deceased.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XV. A Hymn of praise to Ra when he riseth in the eastern horizon of heaven.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Ra.

Chapter XVB. 1. A Hymn of praise to Ra when he setteth in the land of life. Vignette: The deceased adoring Ra.

Chapter XVB. 2. A Hymn of praise to Ra-Harmachis when he setteth in the western horizon of heaven.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Ra.

Chapter XVB. 3. Another hidden Chapter of the *tuat*, and of passing through the secret places of the underworld, and of seeing the Disk when he setteth in Amentet.

Vignette: The god or the deceased spearing a serpent.

Chapter XVIA. [No text: being only a vignette.]

Theban version: list of chapters.

Scene of the worship of the rising sun by mythological beings.

Chapter XVIB. Without title or text.

Vignette: Scene of the worship of the setting sun by mythological beings.

Chapter XVII. Here begin the praises and glorifyings of coming out from, and going into, the underworld in the beautiful Amenta; of coming out by day, and of making transformations and of changing into any form which he pleaseth; of playing at draughts in the seh chamber; and of coming forth in the form of a living soul: to be said by the deceased after his death.

Vignette: The deceased playing at draughts; the deceased adoring the lion-gods of yesterday and to-day; the bier of Osiris with

Isis and Nephthys at the foot and head respectively; and a number of mythological beings referred to in the text.

Chapter XVIII. Without title.

Vignette: The deceased adoring the groups of gods belonging to various cities.

Chapter XIX.* The Chapter of the crown(?) of victory.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XX. Without title.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXI.* The Chapter of giving a mouth to a man in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXII. The Chapter of giving a mouth to the deceased in the underworld.

Vignette: The guardian of the scales touching the mouth of the deceased.

Chapter XXIII. The Chapter of opening the mouth of the deceased in the underworld.

Vignette: The sem priest touching the mouth of the deceased with the instrument ###.

Chapter XXIV. The Chapter of bringing words of magical power to the deceased in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXV. The Chapter of causing a man to remember his name in the underworld.

Vignette: A priest holding up ### before the deceased.

Chapter XXVI. The Chapter of giving a heart to the deceased in the underworld.

Vignette: Anubis holding out a heart to the deceased in the underworld.

Chapter XXVII. The Chapter of not allowing the heart of a man to be taken from him in the underworld.

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Vignette: A man tying a heart to the statue of the deceased.[1]

Chapter XXVIII. [The Chapter of] not allowing the heart of a man to be taken from him in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased with his left hand touching the heart upon his breast, kneeling before a demon holding a knife.

Chapter XXIXA. The Chapter of not carrying away the heart of a man in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXIXB. Another Chapter of a heart of carnelian.

Vignette: The deceased sitting on a chair before his heart, which rests on a stand.

Chapter XXXA. The Chapter of not allowing the heart of a man to be driven away from him in the underworld.

Vignette: A heart.[2]

Chapter XXXB. The Chapter of not allowing the heart of a man to be driven away from him in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased being weighed against his heart in the balance in the presence of Osiris, "the great god, the prince of eternity."

Chapter XXXI. The Chapter of repulsing the crocodile which cometh to carry the magical words ### from a man in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased spearing a crocodile.

Chapter XXXII. [The Chapter of] coming to carry the magical words from a man in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXXIII. The Chapter of repulsing reptiles of all kinds.

Vignette: The deceased attacking four snakes with a knife in each hand.

Chapter XXXIV. The Chapter of a man not being bitten by a serpent in the hall of the tomb.[3]

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XXXV. The Chapter of not being eaten by worms in the underworld.

[1. Two variants (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 38) show the deceased sitting before his heart, and the deceased presenting his heart to a triad of gods.

2. Or the deceased adoring his heart; see also Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 42.

3 ### *amihat*.]

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Theban version: list of chapters.

Vignette: Three serpents.

Chapter XXXVI. The Chapter of repulsing the tortoise. (*apsai*).

Vignette: The deceased spearing a beetle.[1]

Chapter XXXVII. The Chapter of repulsing the two *merti*.

Vignette: Two uræi, which represent the two eyes of Ra.

Chapter XXXVIIIA. The Chapter of living upon the air which is in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased holding a sail, emblematic of air.

Chapter XXXVIIIB. The Chapter of living upon air and of repulsing the two *merti*.

Vignette: The deceased attacking three serpents, a knife in his right hand and a sail in his left.

Chapter XXXIX. The Chapter of repulsing the serpent in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased spearing a serpent.

Chapter XL. The Chapter of repulsing the eater of the ass.

Vignette: The deceased spearing a serpent which is biting the neck of all ass.

Chapter XLI. The Chapter of doing away with the wounding of the eyes in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased holding a knife in the right hand and a roll in the left.

Chapter XLII. [The Chapter] of doing away with slaughter in Suten-henen. Vignette: A man holding a serpent.[2]

Chapter XLIII. The Chapter of not allowing the head of a man to be cut off from him in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XLIV. The Chapter of not dying a second time.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XLV. The Chapter of not seeing corruption.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XLVI. The Chapter of not decaying, and of living in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XLVII. The Chapter of not carrying off the place (or seat) of the throne from a man in the underworld.

[1. Or the deceased holding a knife and staff and standing before ###.

2. For the variant vignettes see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., III. 57.]

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This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XLVIII. [The Chapter of a man coming against] his enemies.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter XLIX.* The Chapter of a man coming forth against his enemies in the underworld.

Vignette: A man standing with a staff in his hand.

Chapter L. The Chapter of not going in to the divine block a second time.

Vignette: A man standing with his back to the block.[1]

Chapter LI. The Chapter of not walking upside down in the underworld.

Vignette: A man standing.

Chapter LII.* The Chapter of not eating filth in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LIII. The Chapter of not allowing a man to eat filth and to drink polluted water in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LIV. The Chapter of giving air in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LV. Another Chapter of giving air.

Vignette: The deceased holding a sail in each hand.[2]

Chapter LVI. The Chapter of snuffing the air in the earth.

Vignette: The deceased kneeling, and holding a sail to his nose.

Chapter LVII. The Chapter of snuffing the air and of gaining the mastery over the waters in the underworld.

Vignette: A man holding a sail, and standing in a running stream.

Chapter LVIII.* The Chapter of snuffing the air and of gaining power over

the water which is in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased holding a sail.

Chapter LIX. The Chapter of snuffing the air and of gaining power over

the water which is in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased standing with his hands extended.

Chapters LX., LXI., LXII. The Chapters of drinking water in the under

world.

[1. Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Bl. 21.

2. A variant vignette of Chapters LV. and XXXVIII. represents the deceased being led into the presence of Osiris by Anubis; see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 68.]

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Theban version: list of chapters.

Vignettes: The deceased holding a lotus; the deceased holding his soul in his arms; and the deceased scooping water into his mouth from a pool.

Chapter LXIIIA. The Chapter of drinking water, and of not being burnt with fire.

Vignette: The deceased drinking water from a stream.

Chapter LXIIIB. The Chapter of not being boiled (or scalded) in the water.

Vignette: The deceased standing by the side of two flames.

Chapter LXIV. The Chapter of coming forth by day in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased adoring the disk, which stands on the top of a tree.

Chapter LXV. [The Chapter of] coming forth by day, and of gaining the mastery over foes.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Ra.

Chapter LXVI. [The Chapter of] coming forth by day.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LXVII. The Chapter of opening the doors of the *tuat* and of coming forth by day.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LXVIII. The Chapter of coming forth by day.

Vignette: The deceased kneeling by the side of a tree before a goddess.[1]

Chapter LXIX. Another Chapter.

Chapter LXX. Another Chapter.

Chapter LXXI. The Chapter of coming forth by day.

Vignette: The deceased with both hands raised in adoration kneeling before the goddess Meh-urt.[2]

Chapter LXXII. The Chapter of coming forth by day and of passing through the hall of the tomb.

Vignette: The deceased adoring three gods.

Chapter LXXIII. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter IX.)

Chapter LXXIV. The Chapter of lifting up the legs and coming forth upon earth.

Vignette: The deceased standing upright.

Chapter LXXV. The Chapter of travelling to Annu (On), and of receiving an abode there.

[1. For the variant vignettes see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. L, Bl. 8o.

2. One of the two variant vignettes shows the deceased in the act of adoring Ra, and in the other the deceased kneels before Ra, Thoth, and Osiris; see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., B1. 83.]

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Theban version: list of chapters.

Vignette: The deceased standing before the door of a tomb.

Chapter LXXVI. The Chapter of [a man] changing into whatsoever form he pleaseth.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LXXVII. The Chapter of changing into a golden hawk.

Vignette: A golden hawk

Chapter LXXVIII. The Chapter of changing into a divine hawk.

Vignette: A hawk.

Chapter LXXIX. The Chapter of being among the company of the gods, and of becoming a prince among the divine powers.

Vignette: The deceased adoring three gods.

Chapter LXXX. The Chapter of changing into a god, and of sending forth light into darkness.

Vignette: A god.

Chapter LXXXIA. The Chapter of changing into a lily.

Vignette: A lily.

Chapter LXXXIB. The Chapter of changing into a lily.

Vignette: The head of the deceased rising out of a lily.

Chapter LXXXII. The Chapter of changing into Ptah, of eating cakes, of drinking ale, of unloosing the body, and of living in Annu (On).

Vignette: The God Ptah in a shrine.

Chapter LXXXIII. The Chapter of changing into a ph渘ix.

Vignette: A phoenix.

Chapter LXXXIV. The Chapter of changing into a heron.

Vignette: A heron.

Chapter LXXXV. The Chapter of changing into a soul, of not going into

the place of punishment: whosoever knoweth it will never perish.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter LXXXVI. The Chapter of changing into a swallow.

Vignette: A swallow.

Chapter LXXXVII. The Chapter of changing into the serpent Sa-ta.

Vignette: A serpent.

Chapter LXXXVIII. The Chapter of changing into a crocodile.

Vignette: A crocodile.

Chapter LXXXIX. The Chapter of making the soul to be united to its body.

Vignette: The soul visiting the body, which lies on a bier.

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Chapter XC. The Chapter of giving memory to a man.

Vignette: A jackal.

Chapter XCI. 'The Chapter of not allowing the soul of a man to be shut in.

Vignette: A soul standing on a pedestal.

Chapter XCII. The Chapter of opening the tomb to the soul and shadow of a man, so that he may come forth and may gain power over his legs.

Vignette: The soul of the deceased flying through the door of the tomb.

Chapter XCIII. The Chapter of not sailing to the east in the underworld.

Vignette: The hands of a buckle grasping the deceased by his left arm.

Chapter XCIV. The Chapter of praying for an ink jar and palette.

Vignette: The deceased sitting before a stand, upon which are an ink jar and palette.

Chapter XCV. The Chapter of being near Thoth.

Vignette: The deceased standing before Thoth.

Chapters XCVI., XCVII. The Chapter of being near Thoth, and of giving . . . .

Vignette: The deceased standing near Thoth.

Chapter XCVIII. [The title of this chapter is incomplete.]

Chapter XCIX. The Chapter of bringing a boat in the underworld.

Vignette: A boat.

Chapter C. The Chapter of making perfect the *khu*, and of making it to enter into the boat of Ra, together with his divine followers.

Vignette: A boat containing a company of gods.

Chapter CL.* The Chapter of protecting the boat of Ra.

Vignette: The deceased in the boat with Ra.

Chapter CII. The Chapter of going into the boat of Ra.

Vignette: The deceased in the boat with Ra.

Chapter CIII. The Chapter of being in the following of Hathor.

Vignette: The deceased standing behind Hathor.

Chapter CIV. The Chapter of sitting among the great gods.

Vignette: The deceased seated between two gods.

Chapter CV. The Chapter of satisfying the *ka*.

Vignette: The deceased burning incense before his *ka*.

Chapter CVI. The Chapter of causing joy each day to a man in Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis).

Vignette: An altar with meat and drink offerings.

Chapter CVII.* The Chapter of going into, and of coming forth from, the

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gate of the gods of the west among the followers of the god, and of knowing the souls of Amentet.

Vignette: Three deities: Ra, Sebek, and Hathor.

Chapter CVIII. The Chapter of knowing the souls of the West.

Vignette: Three deities: Tmu, Sebek, and Hathor.

Chapter CIX. The Chapter of knowing the souls of the East.

Vignette: The deceased making adoration before Ra-Heru-khuti.

Chapter CX. The beginning of the Chapters of the Fields of Peace, and of the Chapters of coming forth by day, and of going into, and of coming forth from, the underworld, and of attaining unto the Fields of Reeds, and of being in the Fields of Peace.

Vignette: The Fields of Peace.

Chapter CXI. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter CVIII.)

Chapter CXII. The Chapter of knowing the souls of Pe.

Vignette: Horus, Mesthi, and Ha-pi.

Chapter CXIII. The Chapter of knowing the souls of Nekhen.

Vignette: Horus, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf.

Chapter CXIV. The Chapter of knowing the souls of Khemennu (Hermopolis).

Vignette: Three ibis-headed gods.

Chapter CXV.* The Chapter of coming forth to heaven, of passing through the hall of the tomb, and of knowing the souls of Annu.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Thoth, Sau and Tmu.

Chapter CXVI. [The Chapter of] knowing the souls of Annu.

Vignette: The deceased adoring three ibis-headed gods.

Chapter CXVII. The Chapter of taking a way in Re-stau.

Vignette: The deceased, holding a staff in his hand, ascending the western hills.

Chapter CXVIII. The Chapter of coming forth from Re-stau.

Vignette: The deceased holding a staff in his left hand.

Chapter CXIX. The Chapter of knowing the name of Osiris, and of going into, and of coming forth from, Re-stau.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Osiris.

Chapter CXX. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter XII.)

Chapter CXXI. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter XIII.)

Chapter CXXII.* The Chapter of the deceased going in after coming forth from the underworld.

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Vignette: The deceased bowing before his tomb, which is on a hill.

Chapter CXXIII. The Chapter of going into the great house (*i.e.*, tomb).

Vignette: The soul of the deceased standing before a tomb.

Chapter CXXIV. The Chapter of going in to the princes of Osiris.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Mestha, Hapi, Tuamautef and Qebbsennuf.

Chapter CXXV. The words which are to be uttered by the deceased when he cometh to the hall of Maati, which separateth him from his sins, and which maketh him to see God, the Lord of mankind.

Vignette: The hall of Maati, in which the heart of the deceased is being weighed in a balance in the presence of the great gods.

Chapter CXXVI. [Without title.]

Vignette: A lake of fire, at each corner of which sits an ape.

Chapter CXXVIIA. The book of the praise of the gods of the *qerti*.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CXXVIIB. The Chapter of the words to be spoken on going to the chiefs of Osiris, and of the praise of the gods who are leaders in the *tuat*.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CXXVIII.* The Chapter of praising Osiris.

Vignette: The deceased adoring three deities.

Chapter CXXIX. (This Chapter in now known as Chapter C.)

Chapter CXXX. The Chapter of making perfect the *khu*.

Vignette: The deceased standing between two boats.

Chapter CXXXI.* The Chapter of making a man go into heaven to the side of Ra.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CXXXII. The Chapter of making a man to go round about to see his house.

Vignette: A man standing before a house or tomb.

Chapter CXXXIII. The Chapter of making perfect the *khu* in the under world in the presence of the great company of the gods.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Ra, seated in a boat.

Chapter CXXXIV. The Chapter of entering into the boat of Ra, and of being among those who are in his train.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Horus, Hathor.

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Theban version: list of chapters.

Chapter CXXXV.* Another Chapter, which is to be recited at the waxing of the moon [each] month.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CXXXVIA. The Chapter of sailing in the boat of Ra.

Vignette: The deceased standing with hands raised in adoration.

Chapter CXXXVIB. The Chapter of sailing in the great boat of Ra, to pass round the fiery orbit of the sun.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CXXXVIIA. The Chapter of kindling the fire which is to be made in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CXXXVIIB. The Chapter of the deceased kindling the fire.

Vignette: The deceased seated, kindling a flame.

Chapter CXXXVIII. The Chapter of making the deceased to enter into Abydos.

Vignette: The deceased adoring the standard ###.

Chapter CXXXIX. (This Chapter is now known as Chapter CXXIII.)

Chapter CXL.* The Book which is to be recited in the second month of *pert*, when the *utchat* is full in the second month of *pert*.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Anpu, the *utchat*, and Ra.

Chapters CXLI-CXLIII. The Book which is to be recited by a man for his father and for his son at the festivals of Amentet. It will make him perfect before Ra and before the gods, and he shall dwell with them. It shall be recited on the ninth day of the festival.

Vignette: The deceased making offerings before a god.

Chapter CXLIV. The Chapter of going in.

Vignette: Seven pylons.

Chapter CXLVA. [Without title.]

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CXLVB. [The Chapter] of coming forth to the hidden pylons.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CXLVI. [The Chapter of] knowing the pylons in the house of Osiris in the Field of Aaru.

Vignette: A series of pylons guarded each by a god.

Chapter CXLVII. [A Chapter] to be recited by the deceased when he cometh to the first hall of Amentet.

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Theban version: list of chapters.

Vignette: A series of doors, each guarded by a god.

Chapter CXLVIII. [The Chapter] of nourishing the *khu* in the underworld, and of removing him from every evil thing.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CXLIX. [Without title.]

Vignette: The divisions of the other world.

Chapter CL. [Without title.]

Vignette: Certain divisions of the other world.

Chapter CLI. [Without title.]

Vignette: Scene of the mummy chamber.

Chapter CLIA. [Chapter] of the hands of Anpu, the dweller in the sepulchral chamber, being upon the lord of life (*i.e.*, the mummy).

Vignette: Anubis standing by the bier of the deceased.

Chapter CLIB. The Chapter of the chief of hidden things.

Vignette: A human head.

Chapter CLII. The Chapter of building a house in the earth.

Vignette: The deceased standing by the foundations of his house.

Chapter CLIIIA. The Chapter of coming forth from the net.

Vignette: A net being drawn by a number of men.

CLIIIB. The Chapter of coming forth from the fishing net.

Vignette: Three apes drawing a fishing net.

Chapter CLIV. The Chapter of not allowing the body of a man to decay in the tomb.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLV. The Chapter of a Tet of gold to be placed on the neck of the *khu*.

Vignette: A Tet.

Chapter CLVI. The Chapter of a buckle of amethyst to be placed on the neck of the khu.

Vignette: A Buckle.

Chapter CLVII*. The Chapter of a vulture of gold to be placed on the neck of the *khu*.

Vignette: A vulture.

Chapter CLVIII.* The Chapter of a collar of gold to be placed on the neck of the *khu*.

Vignette: A collar.

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Theban version: list of chapters.

Chapter CLIX.* The Chapter of a sceptre of mother-of-emerald to be placed on the neck of the *khu*.

Vignette: A sceptre.

Chapter CLX. [The Chapter] of placing a plaque of mother-of-emerald.

Vignette: A plaque.

Chapter CLXI. The Chapter of the opening of the doors of heaven by Thoth, etc.

Vignette: Thoth opening four doors.

Chapter CLXII.* The Chapter of causing heat to exist under the head of the *khu*.

Vignette: A cow.

Chapter CLXIII.* The Chapter of not allowing the body of a man to decay in the underworld.

Vignette: Two *utchats*, and a serpent on legs.

Chapter CLXIV.* Another Chapter.

Vignette: A three-headed goddess, winged, standing between two pigmies.

Chapter CLXV.* The Chapter of arriving in port, of not becoming unseen, and of making the body to germinate, and of satisfying it with the water of heaven.

Vignette: The god Min or Amsu with beetle's body, *etc.*

Chapter CLXVI. The Chapter of the pillow.

Vignette: A pillow.

Chapter CLXVII. The Chapter of bringing the *utchat*.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXVIIIA. [Without title.]

Vignette: The boats of the sun, etc.

Chapter CLXVIIIB. [Without title.]

Vignette: Men pouring libations, gods, *etc.*

Chapter CLXIX. The Chapter of setting up the offering chamber.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXX. The Chapter of the roof of the offering chamber.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXI. The Chapter of tying the *abu*.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXII. Here begin the praises which are to be recited in the underworld.

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This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXIII. Addresses by Horus to his father.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Osiris.

Chapter CLXXIV. The Chapter of causing the khu to come forth from the great gate of heaven.

Vignette: The deceased coming forth from a door.

Chapter CLXXV. The Chapter of not dying a second time in the underworld.

Vignette: The deceased adoring an ibis-headed god.

Chapter CLXXVI. The Chapter of not dying a second time in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXVII. The Chapter of raising up the *khu*, and of making the soul to live in the underworld.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXVIII. The Chapter of raising up the body, of making the eyes to see, of making the ears to hear, of setting firm the head and of giving it its powers.

This Chapter has no Vignette.

Chapter CLXXIX. The Chapter of coming forth from yesterday, of coming forth by day, and of praying with the hands.

This Chapter has no vignette.

Chapter CLXXX. The Chapter of coming forth by day, of praising Ra in Amentet, and of ascribing praise unto those who are in the tuat.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Ra.

Chapter CLXXXI. The Chapter of going in to the divine chiefs of Osiris who are the leaders in the *tuat*.

Vignette: The deceased adoring Osiris, etc.

Chapter CLXXXII. The Book of stablishing the backbone of Osiris, of giving breath to him whose heart is still, and of the repulse of the enemies of Osiris by Thoth.

Vignette: The deceased lying on a bier in a funeral chest, surrounded by various gods.

Chapter CLXXXIII. A hymn of praise to Osiris; ascribing to him glory, and to Un-nefer adoration.

Vignettes: The deceased, with hands raised in adoration, and the god Thoth.

Chapter CLXXXIV. The Chapter of being with Osiris.

Vignette: The deceased standing by the side of Osiris.

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Chapter CLXXXV. The ascription of praise to Osiris, and of adoration to the everlasting lord.

Vignette: The deceased making adoration to Osiris.

Chapter CLXXXVI. A hymn of praise to Hathor, mistress of Amentet, and to Meh-urt.

Vignette: The deceased approaching the mountain of the dead, from which appears the goddess Hathor.

The version akin to the Theban.

Palæography.

The version akin to was in vogue from the XXth to the XXVIth dynasty, *i.e.*, about B.C. 1200-550, and was, like the Theban, usually written upon papyrus. The chapters have no fixed order, and are written in lines in the hieratic character; the rubrics, catchwords, and certain names, like that of Apep, are in red. The vignettes are roughly traced in black outline, and are without ornament; but at the ends of the best papyri well-painted scenes, in which the deceased is depicted making adoration to Ra or Horus, are frequently found. The names and titles of the deceased are written in perpendicular rows of hieroglyphics. The character of the handwriting changes in different periods: in the papyrus of the Princess Nesi-Khonsu (about B.C. 1000) it is bold and clear, and much resembles the handsome style of that found in the great Harris papyrus;[1] but within a hundred years, apparently, the

fine flowing style disappears, and the writing becomes much smaller and is somewhat cramped; the process of reduction in size continues until the XXVIth dynasty, about B.C. 550, when the small and coarsely written characters are frequently difficult to decipher. The papyri upon which such texts are written vary in length from three to about thirty feet, and in width from nine to eighteen inches; as we approach the period of the XXVIth dynasty the texture becomes coarser and the material is darker in colour. The Theban papyri of this period are lighter in colour than those found in the north of Egypt and are less brittle; they certainly suffer less in unrolling.

[1. The Books of the Dead written in the hieroglyphic and hieratic characters which belong to the period of the rule of the priest-kings of the brotherhood of Amen form a class by themselves, and have relatively little in common with the older versions. A remarkable example of this class is the papyrus of Nesi-Khonsu which M. Maspero published (*Les Momies Royales de Déir el-baharî*, p. 600 f.). The text is divided into paragraphs, which contain neither prayers nor hymns but a veritable contract between the god Amen-Ra and the princess Nesi-Khonsu. After the list of the names and titles of Amen-Ra with which it begins follow eleven sections wherein the god declares in legal phraseology that he hath deified the princess in Amenta and in Neter-khert; that he hath deified her soul and her body in order that neither may be destroyed; that he hath made her divine like every god and goddess; and that he hath decreed that whatever is necessary for her in her new existence shall be done for her, even as it is done for every other god and goddess.]

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The Saïte and Ptolemaic version.

Palæography.

The Saïte and Ptolemaic version was in vogue from the period of the XXVIth dynasty, about B.C. 550, to probably the end of the rule of the Ptolemies over Egypt. The chapters have a fixed and definite order, and it seems that a careful revision of the whole work was carried out, and that several alterations of an important nature were made in it. A number of chapters which are not found in older papyri appear during this period; but these are not necessarily new inventions, for, as the kings of the XXVIth dynasty are renowned for having revived the arts and sciences and literature of the earliest dynasties, it is quite possible that many or most of the additional chapters are nothing more than new editions of extracts from older works. Many copies of this version were written by scribes who did not understand what they were copying, and omissions of signs, words, and even whole passages are very common; in papyri of the Ptolemaic period it is impossible to read many passages without the help of texts of earlier periods. The papyri of this period vary in colour from a light to a dark brown, and consist usually of layers composed of strips of the plant measuring about 2 inches in width and 14� to 16 inches in length. Fine examples of Books of the Dead of this version vary in length from about 24� feet (B.M. No. 10,479, written for the *utcheb* Heru, the son of the *utcheb* Tchehra) to 60 feet.

Hieroglyphic texts are written in black, in perpendicular rows between rules, and hieratic texts in horizontal lines; both the hieroglyphics and the hieratic characters lack the boldness of the writing of the Theban period, and exhibit the characteristics of a conventional hand. The titles of the chapters, catchwords, the words ### which introduce a variant reading, *etc.*, are sometimes written in red. The vignettes are usually traced in black outline, and form a kind of continuous border above the text. In good papyri, however, the scene forming the XVIth Chapter, the scene of the Fields of Peace (Chapter CX.), the judgment scene (Chapter CXXV.), the vignette of Chapter CXLVIII., the scene forming Chapter CLI. (the sepulchral chamber), and the vignette of Chapter CLXI., fill the whole width of the inscribed portion of the papyrus, and are painted in somewhat crude colours. In some papyri the disk on the head of the hawk of Horus is covered with gold leaf, instead of being painted red as is usual in older papyri. In the Græco-Roman period both texts and vignettes are very carelessly executed, and it is evident that they were written and drawn by ignorant workmen in the quickest and most careless way possible. In this period also certain passages of the text were copied in hieratic and Demotic upon small pieces of papyri which

were buried with portions of the bodies of the dead, and upon narrow bandages of coarse linen in which they were swathed.

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THE LEGEND OF OSIRIS.

The main features of the Egyptian religion constant.

The chief features of the Egyptian religion remained unchanged from the Vth and VIth dynasties down to the period when the Egyptians embraced Christianity, after the preaching of St. Mark the Apostle in Alexandria, A.D. 69, so firmly had the early beliefs taken possession of the Egyptian mind; and the Christians in Egypt, or Copts as they are commonly called, the racial descendants of the ancient Egyptians, seem never to have succeeded in divesting themselves of the superstitious and weird mythological conceptions which they inherited from their heathen ancestors. It is not necessary here to repeat the proofs, of this fact which M. Amélineau has brought together,[1] or to adduce evidence from the lives of the saints, martyrs and ascetics; but it is of interest to note in passing that the translators of the New Testament into Coptic rendered the Greek {Greek *a!'dhs*} by ###, *amenti*, the name which the ancient Egyptians gave to the abode

of man after death,[3] and that the Copts peopled it with beings whose prototypes are found on the ancient monuments.

Persistence of the legend of Osiris and the belief in the resurrection.

The chief gods mentioned in the pyramid texts are identical with those whose names are given on tomb, coffin and papyrus in the latest dynasties; and if the names of the great cosmic gods, such as Ptah and Khnemu, are of rare occurrence, it should be remembered that the gods of the dead must naturally occupy the chief place in this literature which concerns the dead. Furthermore, we find that the doctrine of eternal life and of the resurrection of a glorified or transformed body, based upon the ancient story of the resurrection of Osiris after a cruel death and horrible mutilation, inflicted by the powers of evil, was the same in all periods, and that the legends of the most ancient times were accepted without material alteration or addition in the texts of the later dynasties.

[1. *Le Christianisme chez les anciens Coptes*, in *Revue des Religions*, t, xiv., Paris, 1886, PP, 308-45

2. I.e., ###.

3. See St. Matthew xi., 23; Acts ii., 27, etc.]

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Plutarch's version of the legend.

The story of Osiris is nowhere found in a connected form in Egyptian literature, but everywhere, and in texts of all periods, the life, sufferings, death and resurrection of Osiris are accepted as facts universally admitted. Greek writers have preserved in their works traditions concerning this god, and to Plutarch in particular we owe an important version of the legend as current in his day. It is clear that in some points he errs, but this was excusable in dealing with a series of traditions already some four thousand years old.[1] According to this writer the goddess Rhea [Nut], the wife of Helios [Ra], was beloved by Kronos [Seb]. When Helios discovered the intrigue, he cursed his wife and declared that she should not be delivered of her child in any month or in any year. Then the god Hermes, who also loved Rhea, played at tables with Selene and won from her the seventieth part of each day of the year, which, added together, made five whole days. These he joined to the three hundred and sixty days of which the year then consisted.[2] Upon the first of these five days was Osiris brought forth;[3] and at the moment of his birth a voice was heard to proclaim that the lord of creation was born. In course of time he became king of Egypt, and devoted himself to civilizing his subjects and to teaching them the craft of the husbandman; he established a code of laws and bade men worship

the gods. Having made Egypt peaceful and flourishing, he set out to instruct the other nations of the world. During his absence his wife Isis so well ruled the state that Typhon [Set], the evil one, could do no harm to the realm of Osiris. When Osiris came again, Typhon plotted with seventy-two comrades, and with Aso, the queen of Ethiopia, to slay him; and secretly got the measure of the body of Osiris, and made ready a fair chest, which was brought into his banqueting hall when Osiris was present together with other guests. By a ruse Osiris was induced to lie down in the chest, which was immediately closed by Typhon and his fellow conspirators, who conveyed it to the Tanaitic mouth of the Nile.[4] These things happened on the seventeenth day of

[1. For the text see *De Iside et Osiride*, ed. Didot (Scripta Moralia, t. iii., pp. 429-69), � xii. ff.

2. The days are called in hieroglyphics ###, "the five additional days of the year," *e?pago'menai!hme'rai pe'nte*; see Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegytiacarum*, Abt. ii. (*Kalendarische Inschriften*), Leipzig, 1883, pp. 479, 480; Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 361 Chabas, *Le Cálendrier*, Paris (no date), p. 99 ff.

3. Osiris was born on the first day, Horus on the second, Set on the third, Isis on the fourth, and Nephthys on the fifth; the first, third, and fifth of these days were considered unlucky by the Egyptians.

4. The mouths of the Nile are discussed and described by Strabo, XVII., i., 18 (ed. Didot, p. 681) and by Diodorus, I., 33, 7 (ed. Didot, p. 26).]

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Plutarch's version.

the month Hathor,[1] when Osiris was in the twenty-eighth year either of his reign or of his age. The first to know of what had happened were the Pans and Satyrs, who dwelt hard by Panopolis; and finally the news was brought to Isis at Coptos, whereupon she cut off a lock of hair[2] and put on mourning apparel. She then set out in deep grief to find her husband's body, and in the course of her wanderings she discovered that Osiris had been united with her sister Nephthys, and that Anubis, the offspring of the union, had been exposed by his mother as soon as born. Isis tracked him by the help of dogs, and bred him up to be her guard and attendant. Soon after she learned that the chest had been carried by the sea to Byblos, where it had been gently laid by the waves among the branches of a tamarisk tree ({Greek *e?pei'khj tini`*}), which in a very short time had grown to a magnificent size and had enclosed the chest within its trunk. The king of the country, admiring the tree, cut it down and made a pillar for the roof of his house of that part which contained the body of Osiris. When Isis heard of this she went to Byblos, and, gaining admittance to the palace through the report of the royal maidens, she was made nurse to one of the king's sons, Instead of nursing the child in the ordinary way, Isis gave him her finger to suck, and each night she put him into the fire to consume his mortal parts, changing

herself the while into a swallow and bemoaning her fate. But the queen once happened to see her son in flames, and cried out, and thus deprived him of immortality. Then Isis told the queen her story and begged for the pillar which supported the roof. This she cut open, and took out the chest and her husband's body,[3] and her lamentations were so terrible that one of the royal children died of fright. She then brought the

[1. In the Calendar in the fourth Sallier papyrus (No. 10,184) this day is marked triply unlucky, and it is said that great lamentation by Isis and Nephthys took place for Un-nefer (Osiris) thereon. See Chabas, *Le Calendrier*, p. 50. Here we have Plutarch's statement supported by documentary evidence. Some very interesting details concerning the festivals of Osiris in the month Choiak are given by Loret in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. 43 ff; t. iv., p. 21 ff.; and t. v., p. 85 ff. The various mysteries which took place thereat are minutely described.

2 On the cutting of the hair as a sign of mourning, see W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 395; and for other beliefs about the hair see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vo1. ii., p. 364, and Fraser, *Golden Bough*, pp. 193-208.

3 The story continues that Isis then wrapped the pillar in fine linen and anointed it with oil, and restored it to the queen. Plutarch adds that the piece of wood is, to this day, preserved in the temple of Isis, and worshipped by the people of Byblos. Prof. Robertson Smith suggests (*Religion of the Semites*, p. 175) that the rite of draping and anointing a sacred stump supplies the answer to the unsolved question of the nature of the ritual practices connected with the Ashera. That some sort of drapery belonged to the Ashera is clear from 2 Kings xxiii., 7. See also Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 150; and Fraser, *Golden Bough*, vol. i., p. 304 ff.]

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Plutarch's version.

chest by ship to Egypt, where she opened it and embraced the body of her husband, weeping bitterly. Then she sought her son Horus in Buto, in Lower Egypt, first having hidden the chest in a secret place. But Typhon, one night hunting by the light of the moon, found the chest, and, recognizing the body, tore it into fourteen pieces, which he scattered up and down throughout the land. When Isis heard of this she took a boat made of papyrus[1]--a plant abhorred by crocodiles--and sailing about she gathered the fragments of Osiris's body.[2] Wherever she found one, there she built a tomb. But now Horus had grown up, and being encouraged to the use of arms by Osiris, who returned from the other world, he went out to do battle with Typhon, the murderer of his father. The fight lasted many days, and Typhon was made captive. But Isis, to whom the care of the prisoner was given, so far from aiding her son Horus, set Typhon at liberty. Horus in his rage tore from her head the royal diadem; but Thoth gave her a helmet in the shape of a cow's head. In two other battles fought between Horus and Typhon, Horus was the victor.[3]

Identity of the deceased with Osiris.

This is the story of the sufferings and death of Osiris as told by Plutarch. Osiris was the god through whose sufferings and death the Egyptian hoped that his body might rise again in some

transformed or glorified shape, and to him who had conquered death and had become the king of the other world the Egyptian appealed in prayer for eternal life through his victory and power. In every funeral inscription known to us, from the pyramid texts down to the roughly written prayers upon coffins of the Roman period, what is done for Osiris is done also for the deceased, the state and condition of Osiris are the state and condition of

[1. The ark of "bulrushes" was, no doubt, intended to preserve the child Moses from crocodiles.

2. {Greek *Mo'non de` tw^n merw^u tou^ O?si'ridos th`n I?^sin ou`x e`urei^n to` ai?doi^n e`uðu`s ga`r ei's to`n potamo`n r!ifh^nai kai` geu'sasðai to'n te lepidwto`n au`tou^ kai` to`n fa'gron kai` to`n o?ksu'rugxon. k.t.l.*}. By the festival celebrated by the Egyptians in honour of the model of the lost member of Osiris, we are probably to understand the public performance of the ceremony of "setting up the Tet in Tattu", which we know took place on the last day of the month Choiak; see Loret, *Les Fêtes d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak* (*Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 32, � 87); Plutarch, *De Iside*, � xviii.

3. An account of the battle is also given in the IVth Sallier papyrus, wherein we are told that it took place on the 26th day of the month Thoth. Horus and Set fought in the form of two men, but they afterwards changed themselves into two bears, and they passed three days and three nights in this form. Victory inclined now to one side, and now to the other, and the heart of Isis suffered bitterly. When Horus saw that she loosed the fetters which he had laid upon Set, he became like a "raging panther of the south with fury," and she fled before him; but he pursued her, and cut off her head, which Thoth transformed by his words of magical power and set upon her body again in the form of that of a cow. In the calendars the 26th day of Thoth was marked triply deadly. See Chabas, *Le Calendrier*, p. 28 ff.]

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the deceased; in a word, the deceased is identified with Osiris. If Osiris liveth for ever, the deceased will live for ever; if Osiris dieth, then will the deceased perish.[1]

[1. The origin of Plutarch's story of the death of Osiris, and the Egyptian conception of his nature and attributes, may be gathered from the following very remarkable hymn. (The text is given by Ledrain, *Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1879, pll. xxi-xxvii. A French translation of it was published, with notes, by Chabas, in *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, 1857, t. xiv., p. 65 ff.; and an English version was given in *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. iv., p. 99 ff. The stele upon which it is found belongs to the early part of the XVIIIth dynasty, by which is meant the period before the reign of Amenophis IV.; this is proved by the fact that the name of the god Amen

THE DOCTRINE OF ETERNAL LIFE.

Egyptian belief in a future life.

The doctrine of eternal life in the VIth dynasty.

The ideas and beliefs which the Egyptians held in reference to a future existence are not readily to be defined, owing to the many difficulties in translating religious texts and in harmonizing the statements made in different works of different periods. Some confusion of details also seems to have existed in the minds of the Egyptians themselves, which cannot be cleared up until the literature of the subject has been further studied and until more texts have been published. That the Egyptians believed in a future life of some kind is certain; and the doctrine

of eternal existence is the leading feature of their religion, and is enunciated with the utmost clearness in all periods. Whether this belief had its origin at Annu, the chief city of the worship of the sun-god, is not certain, but is very probable; for already in the pyramid texts we find the idea of everlasting life associated with the sun's existence, and Pepi I. is said to be "the Giver of life, stability, power, health, and all joy of heart, like the Sun, living for ever."[1] The sun rose each day in renewed strength and vigour, and the renewal of youth in a future life was the aim and object of every Egyptian believer. To this end all the religious literature of Egypt was composed. Let us take the following extracts from texts of the VIth dynasty as illustrations:--

1. ha Unas an sem-nek as met-th sem-nek anxet

Hail Unas, not hast thou gone, behold, [as] one dead, thou hast gone [as] one living

hems her xent Ausar.

to sit upon the throne of Osiris.[2]

[1. ### *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 167 (1. 65).

2. *Recueil Travaux*, t. iii., p. 201 (1. 206). The context runs "Thy Sceptre is in thy hand, and thou givest commands unto the living ones. The *Mekes*

and *Nehbet* sceptres are in thy hand, and thou givest commands unto those whose abodes are secret."]

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2. O Ra-Tum i-nek sa-k i-nek Unas . . . . . . sa-k pu en

O Ra-Turn, cometh to thee thy son, cometh to thee Unas . . . . .

thy son is this of

t'et-k en t'etta

thy body for ever.[1]

3. Tem sa-k pu penen Ausar ta-nek set'eb-f anx-f anx-f

O Turn, thy son is this Osiris; thou hast given his sustenance

and he liveth; he liveth,

anx Unas pen an mit-f an mit Unas pen

and liveth Unas this; not dieth he, not dieth Unas this.[2]

4. hetep Unas em anx em Amenta

Setteth Unas in life in Amenta.[3]

5. au am-nef saa en neter neb ahau pa neheh t'er-f

He[4] hath eaten the knowledge of god every, [his] existence is for all eternity

pa t'etta em sah-f pen en merer-f ari-f mest'et'-f

and to everlasting in his *sah*[5] this; what he willeth he doeth, [what] he hateth

an ari-nef

not doth he do.[6]

[1. *Recueil Travaux*, t. iii., p. 208 (ll. 232, 233).

2. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. 209 (l. 240)

3. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 50 (l. 445). The allusion here is to the setting of the sun.

4. *I.e.*, Unas.

5. See page lix.

6. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 61 (ll. 520, 521).]

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6. anx anx an mit-k

Live life, not shalt thou die.[1]

The doctrine of eternal life in the XVIIIth dynasty.

In the papyrus of Ani the deceased is represented as having come to a place remote and far away, where there is neither air to breathe nor water to drink, but where he holds converse with Tmu. In answer to his question, "How long have I to live?"[2], the great god of Annu answers:--

auk er heh en heh aha en heh

Thou shalt exist for millions of millions of years, a period of millions of years.

In the LXXXIVth Chapter, as given in the same papyrus, the infinite duration of the past and future existence of the soul, as well as its divine nature, is proclaimed by Ani in the words:--

nuk Su paut ba-a pu neter ba-a pu heh

I am Shu [the god] of unformed matter. My soul is God, my soul is eternity.[3]

When the deceased identifies himself with Shu, he makes the period of his existence coeval with that of Tmu-Ra, *i.e.*, he existed before Osiris and the other gods of his company. These two passages prove the identity of the belief in eternal life in the XVIIIth dynasty with that in the Vth and VIth dynasties.

But while we have this evidence of the Egyptian belief in eternal life, we are nowhere told that man's corruptible body will rise again; indeed, the following extracts show that the idea prevailed that the body lay in the earth while the soul or spirit lived in heaven.

1. ba ar pet sat ar ta

Soul to heaven, body to earth.[4] (Vth dynasty.)

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 170 (Pepi, 1. 85).

2. ###. Plate XIX., l. 16 (Book of the Dead, Chapter CLXXV.).

3. Plate XXVIII., 1. 15.

4 *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 71 (l. 582).]

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2. mu-k er pet xa-k er ta

Thy essence is in heaven, thy body to earth.[1] (VIth dynasty.)

3. pet xer ba-k ta xeri tut-k

Heaven hath thy soul, earth hath thy body.[2] (Ptolemaic period.)

Constancy in the belief in the resurrection.

There is, however, no doubt that from first to last the Egyptians firmly believed that besides the soul there was some other element

of the man that would rise again. The preservation of the corruptible body too was in some way connected with the life in the world to come, and its preservation was necessary to ensure eternal life; otherwise the prayers recited to this end would have been futile, and the time honoured custom of mummifying the dead would have had no meaning. The never ending existence of the soul is asserted in a passage quoted above without reference to Osiris; but the frequent mention of the uniting of his bones, and of the gathering together of his members,[3] and the doing away with all corruption from his body, seems to show that the pious Egyptian connected these things with the resurrection of his own body in some form, and he argued that what had been done for him who was proclaimed to be giver and source of life must be necessary for mortal man.

The *khat* or physical body.

The physical body of man considered as a whole was called *khat*, a word which seems to be connected with the idea of something which is liable to decay. The word is also applied to the mummified body in the tomb, as we know from the words "My body (*khat*) is buried."[4] Such a body was attributed to the god Osiris;" in the CLXIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead "his great

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 43 (l. 304).

2. Horrack, *Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys*, Paris, 1866, p. 6.

3. Already in the pyramid texts we have "Rise up, O thou Teta! Thou hast received thy head, thou hast knitted together thy bones, thou hast collected thy members." *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 40 (1. 287).

3. Book of the Dead, Chapter LXXXVI., 1. 11.

4. Papyrus of Ani, pl. vii., 1. 28, and pl. xix., 1. 8.]

divine body rested in Annu."[1] In this respect the god and the deceased were on an equality. As we have seen above, the body neither leaves the tomb nor reappears on earth; yet its preservation was necessary. Thus the deceased addresses Tmu[2]: "Hail to thee, O my father Osiris, I have come and I have embalmed this my flesh so that my body may not decay. I am whole, even as my father Khepera was whole, who is to me the type of that which passeth not away. Come then, O Form, and give breath unto me, O lord of breath, O thou who art greater than thy compeers. Stablish thou me, and form thou me, O thou who art lord of the grave. Grant thou to me to endure for ever, even as thou didst grant unto thy father Tmu to endure; and his body neither passed away nor decayed. I have not done that which is hateful unto thee, nay, I have spoken that which thy ka loveth: repulse thou me not, and cast thou me not behind thee, O Tmu, to decay, even as thou doest unto every god and unto every goddess and unto every beast and creeping thing

which perisheth when his soul hath gone forth from him after his death, and which falleth in pieces after his decay . . . . . Homage to thee, O my father Osiris, thy flesh suffered no decay, there were no worms in thee, thou didst not crumble away, thou didst not wither away, thou didst not become corruption and worms; and I myself am Khepera, I shall possess my flesh for ever and ever, I shall not decay, I shall not crumble away, I shall not wither away, I shall not become corruption."

The *sahu* or spiritual body.

But the body does not lie in the tomb inoperative, for by the prayers and ceremonies on the day of burial it is endowed with the power of changing into a *sahu*, or spiritual body. Thus we have such phrases as, "I germinate like the plants,"[3] "My flesh germinateth,"[4] "I exist, I exist, I live, I live, I germinate, I germinate,"[5] "thy soul liveth, thy body germinateth by the command of Ra

[1. ###. Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Bl. 77,1. 7.

2. This chapter was found inscribed upon one of the linen wrappings of the mummy of Thothmes III., and a copy of the text is given by Naville (Todtenbuch, Bd. L, Bl. 179); for a later version see Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 75, where many interesting variants occur.

3. ###. Chapter LXXXIII., 3.

4. ###. Chapter LXIV., 1. 49. (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 76.)

5. ###. Chapter CLIV. (Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, 75.)]

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himself without diminution, and without defect, like unto Ra for ever and ever."[1] The word *sahu* though at times written with the determinative of a mummy lying on a bier like *khat*, "body," indicates a body which has obtained a degree of knowledge[2] and power and glory whereby it becomes henceforth lasting and incorruptible. The body which has become a *sahu* has the power of associating with the soul and of holding converse with it. In this form it can ascend into heaven and dwell with the gods, and with the sahu of the gods, and with the souls of the righteous. In the pyramid texts we have these passages:--

1. Thes-thu Teta pu un-thu aaa peh-tha hems-k

Rise up thou Teti, this. Stand up thou mighty one being strong. Sit thou

xent neteru ari-k ennu ari en Ausar em Het-aa amt Annu

with the gods, do thou that which did Osiris in the great house in Annu.

sesep-nek sah-k an t'er ret-k em pet an

Thou hast received thy *sah*, not shall be fettered thy foot in heaven, not

xesef-k em ta

shalt thou be turned back upon earth.[3]

2. anet' hra-k Teta em hru-k pen aha tha xeft Ra

Hail to thee, Teta, on this thy day [when] thou art standing before Ra [as]

[1. Brugsch, *Liber Metempsychosis*, p. 22.

2. Compare Coptic ###, "magister."

3. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 36 (1. 271). From line 143 of the same text it would seem that a man had more than one *sahu*, for the words "all thy *sahu*," occur. This may, however, be only a plural of majesty.]

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per-f em aabt t'eba-tha em sah-k pen am baiu

he cometh from the cast, [when] thou art endued with this thy *sah* among the souls.[1]

3. ahau pa neheh t'er-f pa t'etta em sah-f

[His] duration of life is eternity, his limit of life is everlastingness in his *sah*.[2]

4. nuk sah em ba-f

I am a *sah* with his soul.[3]

In the late edition of the Book of the Dead published by Lepsius the deceased is said to " look upon his body and to rest upon his *sahu*,"[4] and souls are said "to enter into their *sahu*";[5] and a passage extant both in this and the older Theban edition makes the deceased to receive the *sahu* of the god Osiris.[6] But that Egyptian writers at times confused the *khat* with the sahu is clear from a passage in the Book of Respirations, where it is said, "Hail Osiris, thy name endureth, thy body is stablished, thy sahu germinateth";[7] in other texts the word "germinate" is applied only to the natural body.

The ab or heart.

In close connection with the natural and spiritual bodies stood the heart, or rather that part of it which was the seat of the power of life and the fountain of good and evil thoughts. And in addition to the natural and spiritual bodies, man also bad an abstract individuality or personality endowed with all his characteristic attributes. This abstract personality had an absolutely independent existence. It could move freely from place to place, separating itself from, or uniting itself to,

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 59 (l. 384).

2. Ibid., t. iv., p. 61 (1. 521).

3. Book of the Dead, Chapter I.XXVIII., 1. 14.

4. ###. Chapter LXXXIX., 1. 6.

5. Ibid., 1. 5.

6. ###. Chapter CXXX., 1. 38 (ed. Naville).

7. ###. See Brugsch, *Liber Metempsychosis*, p. 15.]

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the body at will, and also enjoying life with the gods in heaven.This was the *ka*,[1] a word which at times conveys the meanings of its Coptic equivalent {Coptic*kw*}, and of {Greek *ei?'dwlon*}, image, genius, double, character, disposition, and mental attributes. The funeral offerings of meat, cakes, ale, wine, unguents,*etc.*, were intended for the *ka*; the scent of the burnt incense was grateful to it. The *ka* dwelt in the man's statue just as the *ka* of a god inhabited the statue of the god. In this respect the *ka* seems to be identical with the *sekhem* or image. In the remotest times the tombs had special chambers wherein the *ka* was worshipped and received offerings. The priesthood numbered among its body an order of men who bore the name of "priests of the *ka* and who performed services in honour of the *ka* in the "*ka* chapel".

In the text of Unas the deceased is said to be "happy with his ka"[2] in the next world, and his ka is joined unto his body in "the great dwelling"; [3] his body

[1. The first scholar who seriously examined the meaning of the word was Dr. Birch, who collected several examples of the use and discussed them in his *Mèmoire sur une Patère Égyptienne du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1858, p. 59 ff. (Extrait du t. xxiv. des *Mémoires de la Société impériale des Antiquaires de France*). Dr. Birch translated the word by être, personne, emblème, divin, génie, principe, esprit. In September, 1878, V. Maspero explained to the Members of the Congress of Lyons the views which he held concerning this word, and which he had for the past five years been teaching in the Collège de France, and said, "le *ka* est une sorte de double de la personne humaine d'une matière moins grossière que la matière dont est formé le corps, mais qu'il fallait nourrir et entretenir comme le corps lui-même; ce double vivait dans le tombeau des offrandes qu'on faisait aux fêtes canoniques, et aujourd'hui encore un grand nombre des génies de la tradition populaire égyptienne ne sent que des *doubles*, devenus démons au moment de la conversion des fellahs an christianisme, puis à l'islamisme." These views were repeated by him at the Sorbonne in February, 1879. See *Comptes Rendus du Congrès provincial des Orientalistes*, Lyons, 1878, t. i., pp. 235-263; *Revue Scientifique de la France et de l'Étranger*, 2e série, 8e année, No. 35, March, 1879, pp. 816-820; *Bulletin de l'Association Scientifique de France*, No. 594, 1879, t. xxiii., p. 373-384; Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, t. i., pp. 1, 35, 126. In March, 1879, Mr. Renouf read a paper entitled "On the true sense of an important Egyptian word" (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vi., London, 1979, pp. 494-508), in which he arrived at conclusions similar to those of M. Maspero; and in September of the same year M. Maspero again treated the subject in *Recueil de Travaux*, t. i., p. 152 f. The various shades of meaning in the word have been discussed subsequently by Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* (Suppl.), pp. 997, 1230; Dümichen,*Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, Abt. i., p. 10; Bergmann, *Der Sarkophag des Panehemisis* (in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1883, p. 5); Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, p. 126.

2. ###, l. 472.

3. ###, l. 482.]

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having been buried in the lowest chamber, "his *ka* cometh forth to him."[1] Of Pepi I. it is said:--

ai su ka-k hems ka-k am ta hena-k at ur

Washed is thy *ka*, sitteth thy *ka* [and] it eateth bread with thee unceasingly

en t'et t'etta

forever.'[2]

aha uab-k uab ka-k uab ba-k uab sexem-k

Thou art pure, thy *ka* is pure, thy soul is pure, thy form is pure.[3]

The *ka*, as we have seen, could eat food, and it was necessary to provide food for it. In the XIIth dynasty and in later periods the gods are entreated to grant meat and drink to the *ka* of the deceased; and it seems as if the Egyptians thought that the future welfare of the spiritual body depended upon the maintenance of a constant supply of sepulchral offerings. When circumstances rendered it impossible to continue the material supply of food, the *ka* fed upon the offerings painted on the walls of the tomb, which were transformed into suitable nourishment by means of the prayers of the living. When there were neither material offerings

nor painted similitudes to feed upon, it seems as if the *ka* must have perished; but the texts are not definite on this point.

A prayer of the ka.

The following is a specimen of the *ka's* petition for food written in the XVIIIth dynasty:--

"May the gods grant that I go into and come forth from my tomb, may the Majesty refresh its shade, may I drink water from my cistern every day, may all my limbs grow, may Hapi give unto me bread and flowers of all kinds in their season, may I pass over my estate every day without, ceasing, may my soul

[1. ###. I. 483.

2. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. x 66, 1. 67.

3 Ibid., 1. 112.]

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alight upon the branches of the groves which I have planted, may I make myself cool beneath my sycamores, may I eat the bread which they provide. May I have my mouth that I may speak therewith like the followers of Horus, may I come forth to heaven, may I descend to earth, may I never be shut out upon the road, may there never be done unto me that which my soul abhorreth, let not my soul be

imprisoned, but may I be among the venerable and favoured ones, may I plough my lands in the Field of Aaru, may I arrive at the Field of Peace, may one come out to me with vessels of ale and cakes and bread of the lords of eternity, may I receive meat from the altars of the great, I the *ka* of the prophet Amsu."[1]

The *ba* or soul.

To that part of man which beyond all doubt was believed to enjoy an eternal existence in heaven in a state of glory, the Egyptians gave the name *ba*, a word which means something like "sublime," "noble," and which has always hitherto been translated by "soul." The *ba* is not incorporeal, for although it dwells in the *ka*, and is in some respects, like the heart, the principle of life in man, still it possesses both substance and form: in form it is depicted as a human-headed hawk, and in nature and substance it is stated to be exceedingly refined or ethereal. It revisited the body in the tomb and re-animated it, and conversed with it; it could take upon itself any shape that it pleased; and it had the power of passing into heaven and of dwelling with the perfected souls there. It was eternal. As the ba was closely associated with the *ka*, it partook of the funeral offerings, and in one aspect of its existence at least it was liable to decay if not properly and sufficiently nourished. In the pyramid texts the permanent

dwelling place of the *ba* or soul is heaven with the gods, whose life it shares

1. sek Unas per em hru pen em aru maa en

Behold Unas cometh forth on day this in the form exact of

ba anx

a soul living.[2]

[1. See *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. vi., pp. 307, 308.

2. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 52 (l. 455).]

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2. ba-sen met Unas

Their soul[1] is in Unas.[2]

3. aha ba-k emma neteru

Standeth thy soul among the gods.[3]

4. ha Pepi pu i-nek maat Heru metu-s thu

Hail, Pepi this! cometh to thee the eye of Horus, it speaketh with thee.

i-nek ba-k am neteru

Cometh to thee thy soul which is among the gods.[4]

5. uab ba-k am neteru

Pure is thy soul among the gods.[5]

6. anx Ausar anx ba din Netat anx Pepi pen

As liveth Osiris, and as liveth the soul in Netat, so liveth Pepi this.[6]

7. ta-s baiu-k Pepi pen xent paut neteru em

It[7] placeth thy soul Pepi this among the greater and lesser cycles of the gods in

tut arat am-tha hat-k

the form of the uræi [which] are on thy brow.[8]

[1. *I.e.*, the soul of the gods.

2 *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 61 (l. 522).

3 *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v-, p. 55 (l. 350), and see Pepi I., ll. 19, 20.

4 *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 16o (l. 13). 5 *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 175 0. 113).

6 *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 183 (l. 166).

7 *I.e.*, the Eye of Horus.

8 *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 184 (l. 167).]

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8. ha Pepi pen ba-k baiu Annu as ba-k baiu

Behold Pepi this, thy soul is the soul of Annu; behold thy soul is the soul

Nexen as ba-k baiu Pe as ba-k seb anx as

of Nekhen; behold thy soul is the soul of Pe; behold thy soul is a star living, behold,

xent senu-f

among its brethren.[1]

The khaibit or shadow.

In connection with the *ka* and *ba* must be mentioned the *khaibit* or shadow of the man, which the Egyptians regarded as a part of the human economy. It may be compared with the {Greek *skia'*} and *umbra* of the Greeks and Romans. It was supposed to have an entirely independent existence and to be able to separate itself from the body; it was free to move wherever it pleased, and, like the *ka* and *ba*, it partook of the funeral offerings in the tomb, which it visited at will. The mention of the shade, whether of a god or man, in the pyramid texts is unfrequent, and it is not easy

to ascertain what views were held concerning it; but from the passage in the text of Unas,[2] where it is mentioned together with the souls and spirits and bones of the gods, it is evident that already at that early date its position in relation to man was well defined. From the collection of illustrations which Dr. Birch appended to his paper *On the Shade or Shadow of the Dead*,[3] it is quite clear that in later times at least the shadow was always associated with the soul and was believed to be always near it; and this view is

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 184 (l. 168).

2. *Recueil de Travaux*, p.62 (l. 523).

3. See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. viii., p. 386-97.]

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supported by a passage in the XCIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead,[1] where it is said:--

em xena ba-a sauti xaibit-a un uat

Let not be shut in my soul, let not be fettered my shadow, let be opened the way

en ba-d en xaibit-a maa-f neter aa

for my soul and for my shadow, may it see the great god.

And again, in the LXXXIXth Chapter the deceased says:--

maa-a ba-a xaibit-a

May I look upon my soul and my shadow.[2]

the *khu* or intelligence.

Another important and apparently eternal part of man was the *khu*, which, judging from the meaning of the word, may be defined as a "shining" or translucent, intangible casing or covering of the body, which is frequently depicted in the form of a mummy. For want of a better word khu has often been translated "shining one," "glorious," "intelligence," and the like, but in certain cases it may be tolerably well rendered by "spirit." The pyramid texts show us that the *khu's* of the gods lived in heaven, and thither wended the *khu* of a man as soon as ever the prayers said over the dead body enabled it to do so. Thus it is said, "Unas standeth with the *khu's*,"[3] and one of the gods is asked to "give him his sceptre among the *khu's*; "[4] when the souls of the gods enter into Unas, their *khu's*are with and round about him.[6] To king Teta it is said:--

[1. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 104, ll. 7, 8.

2. *Ibid.*, Bd. I., Bl. 101.

3. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. x 88 (1. 71).

4. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 215 (l. 274).

5. Ibid., t iv., p. 61 (1. 522).]

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nehem-nef maat-f maf er ta-nef nek seba-k

He[1] hath plucked his eye from himself, he hath given it unto thee to strengthen thee

am-s sexem-k am-s xent xu

therewith, that thou mayest prevail with it among the *khu's*.[2]

And again, when the god Khent-mennut-f has transported the king to heaven, the god Seb, who rejoices to meet him, is said to give him both hands and welcome him as a brother and to nurse him and to place him among the imperishable *khu's*.[1] In the XCIInd Chapter the deceased is made to pray for the liberation of his soul, shadow, and *khu* from the bondage of the tomb, and for deliverance from those "whose dwellings are hidden, who fetter the souls, who fetter souls and khu's cc and who shut in the shadows of the dead";[4] and in the XC Ist Chapter[5] is a formula specially prepared to enable the *khu* to pass from the tomb to the domains where Ra and Hathor dwell.

The *sekhem* or form.

Yet another part of a man was supposed to exist in heaven, to which the Egyptians gave the name sekhem. The word has been rendered by "power," "form," and the like, but it is very difficult to find any expression which will represent the Egyptian conception of the *sekhem*. It is mentioned in connection with the soul and *khu*, as will be seen from the following passages from the pyramid texts

1. i-nek sexem-k am xu

Cometh to thee thy sekhem among the khu's.[6]

[1. *I.e.*, Horus.

2 *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 19 (l. 174).

3. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 41 (l. 289).

4. See below, p. 117.

5. See below, p. 115.

6. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 160 (l. 13).]

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2. Uda sexem-k am xu

Pure is thy sekhem among the khu's.[1]

3. aha uab-k uab ka-k uab ba-k uab

Thou art pure, pure is thy *ka*, pure is thy soul, pure is

sexem-k

thy sekhem.[1]

A name of Ra was[3] *sekhem ur*, the "Great Sekhem," and Unas is identified with him and called:--

sexem ur sexem em sexemu

Great *sekhem*, *sekhem* among the *sekhemu*.[4]

The *ren* or name

Finally, the name, *ren*, of a man was believed to exist in heaven, and. in the pyramid texts we are told that

nefer en Pepi pen hena ren-f anx Pepi pen hena ka-f

Happy is Pepi this with his name, liveth Pepi this with his *ka*.[5]

Thus, as we have seen, the whole man consisted of a natural body, a spiritual body, a heart, a double, a soul, a shadow, an intangible ethereal casing or spirit, a form, and a name. All these were, however, bound together inseparably, and the welfare of any single one of them concerned the welfare of all. For the well-being of the spiritual parts it was necessary to preserve from decay the natural body; and

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 175 (l. 113).

2. *Recueil de Travaux*, p. 175, 1. 112.

3. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 44,1. 393.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 60, ll. 514, 515

5. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 183, l. 169.]

certain passages in the pyramid texts seem to show that a belief in the resurrection of the natural body existed in the earliest dynasties.[1]

The texts are silent as to the time when the immortal part began its beatified existence; but it is probable that the Osiris[2] of a man only attained to the full enjoyment of spiritual happiness after the funeral ceremonies had been duly per formed and the ritual recited. Comparatively few particulars are known of the manner of life of the soul in heaven, and though a number of interesting facts may be gleaned from the texts of all periods, it is very difficult to harmonize them. This result is due partly to the different views held by different schools of thought in ancient Egypt, and partly to the fact that on some points the Egyptians them selves seem to have had no decided opinions. We

depend upon the pyramid texts for our knowledge of their earliest conceptions of a future life.

The existence in heaven.

The life of the Osiris of a man in heaven is at once material and spiritual and it seems as if the Egyptians never succeeded in breaking away from their very ancient habit of confusing the things of the body with the things of the soul. They believed in an incorporeal and immortal part of man, the constituent elements of which flew to heaven after death and embalmment; yet the theologians of the VIth dynasty had decided that there was some part of the deceased which could only mount to heaven by means of a ladder. In the pyramid of Teta it is said, "When Teta hath purified himself on the borders of this earth where Ra hath purified himself, he prayeth and setteth up the ladder, and those who dwell in the great place press Teta forward with their hands."[3] In the pyramid of Pepi I.

[1. *E.g.*, "This Pepi goeth forth with his flesh." *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 185, l. 169.

2. The Osiris consisted of all the spiritual parts of a man gathered together in a form which resembled him exactly. Whatever honour was paid to the mummified body was received by its Osiris, the offerings made to it were accepted by its Osiris, and the amulets laid upon it were made use of by its Osiris for its own protection. The *sahu*, the *ka*, the *ba*, the *khu*, the*khaibit*, the *sekhem*, and the *ren* were in primeval times separate and independent parts of man's immortal nature; but in the pyramid texts they are welded together, and the dead king Pepi is addressed

as "Osiris Pepi." The custom of calling the deceased Osiris continued until the Roman period. On the Osiris of a man, see Wiedemann, *Die Osirianische Unsterblichkeitslehre* (in *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, p. 128).

3. ###. Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 7, l. 36.]

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the king is identified with this ladder: "Isis saith, 'Happy are they who see the 'father,' and Nephthys saith, 'They who see the father have rest,' speaking unto the father of this Osiris Pepi when he cometh forth unto heaven among the stars and among the luminaries which never set. With the uræus on his brow, and his book upon both his sides, and magic words at his feet, Pepi goeth forward unto his mother Nut, and he entereth therein in his name Ladder."[1] The gods who preside over this ladder are at one time Ra and Horus, and at another Horus and Set. In the pyramid of Unas it is said, "Ra setteth upright the ladder for Osiris, and Horus raiseth up the ladder for his father Osiris, when Osiris goeth to [find] his soul; one standeth on the one side, and the other standeth on the other, and Unas is betwixt them. Unas standeth up and is Horus, he sitteth down and is Set."[2] And in the pyramid of Pepi I. we read, "Hail to thee, O Ladder of God, hail to thee, O Ladder of Set. Stand up, O Ladder of God, stand up, O Ladder of Set, stand up, O Ladder of Horus, whereon Osiris went forth

into heaven . . . . . . This Pepi is thy son, this Pepi is Horus, thou hast given birth unto this Pepi even as thou hast given birth unto the god who is the lord of the Ladder. Thou hast given him the Ladder of God, and thou hast given him the Ladder of Set, whereon this Pepi hath gone forth into heaven . . . . . . Every *khu* and every god stretcheth out his hand unto this Pepi when he cometh forth into heaven by the Ladder of God . . . . that which he seeth and that which he heareth make him wise, and serve as food for him when he cometh forth into heaven by the Ladder of God. Pepi riseth up like the uræus which is on the brow of Set, and every *khu*and every god stretcheth out his hand unto Pepi on the Ladder. Pepi hath gathered together his bones, he hath collected his flesh, and Pepi hath gone straightway into heaven by means of the two fingers of the god who is the Lord of the Ladder."[3] Elsewhere we are told that Khonsu and Set "carry the Ladder of Pepi, and they set it up."

When the Osiris of a man has entered into heaven as a living soul,[4] he is regarded as one of those who "have eaten the eye of Horus he walks among

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 190, ll. 181, 182.

2. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 70, l. 579 ff

3.. *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, t. i., p. 344, note 1.

4 ###. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 52 (1. 456).

5. ###. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 165 (l. 169).]

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The deification of the spiritual body.

living ones,[1] he becomes "God, the son of God,"[2] and all the gods of heaven become his brethren.[3] His bones are the gods and goddesses of heaven;[4] his right side belongs to Horns, and his left side to Set;[5] the goddess Nut makes him to rise up as a god without an enemy in his name "God";[6] and God calls him by his name.[7] His face is the face of Ap-uat, his eyes are the great ones among the souls of Annu, his nose is Thoth, his mouth is the great lake, his tongue belongs to the boat of right and truth, his teeth are the spirits of Annu, his chin is Khert-khent-Sekhem, his backbone is Sema, his shoulders are Set, his breast is Beba.[8] *etc.*; every one of his members is identified with a god. Moreover, his body as a whole is identified with the God of Heaven. For example it is said concerning Unas:--

t'et-k t'et ent Unas pen af-k af en Unas pen

Thy body is the body of Unas this. Thy flesh is the flesh of Unas this.

kesu-k kesu Unas pen seb-k seb Unas pen

Thy bones are the bones of Unas this. Thy passage is the passage of Unas this.

seb Unas pen seb-k

The passage of Unas this is thy passage.[9]

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 183 (l. 166).

2 ###. *Ibid.*, t. viii., p. 89 (t. 574).

3. ###. See pyramid of Teta, (Recueil, t. v.), ll. 45, 137, 197, 302.

4. ###. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 202 (1. 209).

5 *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 23 (l. 198),

6 *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 38, (l. 279).

7. *Ibid.*, p. 26 (l. 222)

8. *Ibid.*, t. viii., p. 88 (l. 565 ff.).

9. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 214 (l. 268).]

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Further, this identification of the deceased with the God of Heaven places him in the position of supreme ruler. For example, we have the prayer that Unas "may rule the nine gods and complete the company of the nine gods,"[1] and Pepi I., in his progress through heaven, comes upon the double company of the gods, who

stretch out their hands, entreating him to come and sit down among them.[2]

Identification with Horus.

Again, the deceased is changed into Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis. It is said of Pepi I., "Behold it is not Pepi who entreateth to see thee in the form in which thou art ###, O Osiris, who entreateth to see thee in the form in which thou art, O Osiris; but it is thy son who entreateth to see thee in the form in which thou art, O Osiris, it is Horus who entreateth to see thee in the form in which thou art";[3] and Horus does not place Pepi at the head of the dead, but among the divine gods.[4] Elsewhere we are told that Horus has taken his Eye and given it to Pepi, and that the odour of Pepi's body is the odour of the Eye of Horus.[5] Throughout the pyramid texts the Osiris of the deceased is the son of Tmu, or Tmu-Ra, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, and Nut, the brother of Isis, Nephthys, Set, and Thoth, and the father of Horus;[6] his hands, arms, belly, back, hips and thighs, and legs are the god Tmu, and his face is Anubis.[7] He is the brother of the moon,[8] he is the child of the star Sothis,[9] he revolves in heaven like Orion and Sothis,[10] and he rises in his place like a star.[11] The gods, male and

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. 217 (l. 283).

2. *Ibid.*, ###. t. vii., p. 150 (l. 263).

3. *Ibid.*, t. vii., p. 155 (l. 315 f.)

4. ###. t. v., p. 194 (p. 190).

5 *Ibid.*, t. vii., p. 169 (1. 457).

6 *Ibid.*, t. iii., pp. 209-211.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 201 (l. 207).

8. ###. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 198 (l. 203).

9. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 44 (l. 391).

10. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 205 (l. 221).

10. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 44 (l. 391).]

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female, pay homage to him,[1] every being in heaven adores him; and in one interesting passage it is said of Pepi I. that "when he hath come forth into heaven he will find Ra standing face to face before him, and, having seated himself upon the shoulders of Ra, Ra will not let him put himself down again upon the ground; for he knoweth that Pepi is more shining than the shining ones, more perfect than the perfect, and more stable than the stable ones . . . . . When Pepi standeth upon the north of heaven with Ra, he becometh lord of the universe like unto the king of the gods."[2] To the deceased Horus gives his own *ka*,[3] and also drives away the ka's of the enemies of the deceased from him, and

hamstrings his foes.[4] By the divine power thus given to the deceased he brings into subjection the *ka's* of the gods[5] and other *ka's*,[6] and he lays his yoke upon the *ka's* of the triple company of the gods.[7] He also becomes Thoth,[8] the intelligence of the gods, and he judges hearts;[9] and the hearts of those who would take away his food and the breath from his nostrils become the prey of his hands.[10]

The heavenly life of the blessed.

The place of the deceased in heaven is by the side of God[11] in the most holy place,[12] and he becomes God and an angel of God;[13] he himself is triumphant,[14]

[1. ###. Recueil de Travaux, t. v., p. 23, (l. 197).

2. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 17, (l. 91 ff.).

3. ###. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 33 (l. 265).

4 *Ibid.*, t. V., p. 40 (l. 287).

5. ###. *Ibid.*, p. 45 (l. 306).

6. ###. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 51 (l. 451); iii., p. 208 (l. 234).

7. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 460. (l. 307).

8. *Ibid.*, t. vii., p. 168 (l. 452).

9. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 208 (l. 233), ###.

10. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 49 (l. 430), ###.

11. ### *un-k ar kes neter*; *ibid.*, t. iii., p. 202 (l. 209).

12. ###. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 89 (l. 178).

13. ###. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 187 (l. 175).

14. ### *maa-xeru*; *ibid.*, t. v., p. 186 (l. 172). These words are in later times always added after the name of the deceased, and seem to mean something like "he whose voice, or speech, is right and true"; the expression has been rendered by "disant la vérité," "véridique," "juste," "justifié," "vainqueur," "waltend des Wortes," "mächtig der Rede," "vrai de voix," "juste de voix," "victorious," "triumphant," and the like. See on this subject Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, t. i., pp. 93-114; Devéria, *L'Expression Màà-xerou* (in*Recueil de Travaux*, t. i., p. 10 ff.). A somewhat different view of the signification of maakheru is given by Virey (Tombeau de Rekhmara, Paris, 1889, p. 101. Published in *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Miss. Arch. Française au Caire*, t. v., fasc. i.). The offerings which were painted on the walls of the tomb were actually enjoyed by the deceased in his new state of being. The Egyptians called them "*per kheru*," that is to say, "*the things which the word or the demand made to appear*," or "*per hru kheru*," that is to say, "*the things which presented themselves at the word*" or "*at the demand*" of the deceased. The deceased was then called "*maa kheru*," that is to say, "*he who realizes his word*," or "*he who realizes while he speaks*," or "*whose voice or demand realizes*," or "*whose voice* or *demand makes true,* or *makes to be really and actually*" that which only appears in painting on the walls of the tomb. M. Amélineau combats this interpretation, and agrees with M. Maspero's rendering of "juste de voix"; see *Un Tombeau Égyptien* (in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*), t. xxiii, pp. 153, 154. It is possible that *maa-kheru* may mean simply "blessed."]

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and his ka is triumphant.[1] He sits on a great throne by the side of God.[2] The throne is of iron ornamented with lions' faces and having the hoofs of bulls.[3] He is clothed in the finest raiment, like unto the raiment of those who sit on the throne of living right and truth.[4] He receives the *urerit* crown from the gods,[5] and from the great company of the gods of Annu.[6] He thirsts not,

nor hungers, nor is sad;[7] he eats the bread of Ra and drinks what he drinks daily,[8] and his bread also is that which is spoken by Seb, and that which comes forth from the mouth of the gods.[9] He eats what the gods eat, he drinks what they drink, he lives as they live, and he dwells where they dwell;[10] all the gods give him their food that he may not die.[11] Not only does he eat and drink of their food, but he wears the

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 189 (l. 179).

2. ###. *Ibid.*, t. i,., p. 58 (l. 494).

3 ###. *Ibid.*, t. vii., p. 154 (ll. 309, 310).

4. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 148 (1. 239).

5. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 56 (l. 480).

6. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 176 (1. 117).

7. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 195 (l. 172).

8 *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 52 (l. 335)

9 ###. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 208 (1. 234).

10. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 198 (1. 191 f.).

11. Ibid., t. v., p. 164 (1. 56).]

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apparel which they wear,[1] the white linen and sandals;[2] he is clothed in white,[3] and "he goeth to the great lake in the midst of the Field of Peace whereon the great gods sit; and these

great and never failing gods give unto him [to eat] of the tree of life of which they themselves do eat that he likewise may live."[4] The bread which he eats never decays and his beer never grows stale.[5] He eats of the "bread of eternity" and drinks of the "beer of everlastingness" which the gods eat and drink;[6] and he nourishes himself upon that bread which the Eye of Horus has shed upon the branches of the olive tree.[7] He suffers neither hunger nor thirst like the gods Shu and Tefnut, for he is filled with the bread of wheat of which Horus himself has eaten; and the four children of Horus, Hapi, Tuamautef, Qebhsennuf and Amset, have appeased the hunger of his belly and the thirst of his lips.[8] He abhors the hunger which he cannot satisfy, and he loathes the thirst which he cannot slake;[9] but he is delivered from the power of those who would steal away his food.[10] He is washed clean, and his *ka* is washed clean, and they eat bread together for ever.[11] He is one of the four children of Horus who live on right and truth,[12] and they give him his portion of the food with which they have been so abundantly supplied by the god Seb that they have never yet known what it is to hunger. He goes round about heaven even as they do, and he partakes of their food of figs and wine.[13]

[1. ###. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 190 (l. 180).

2. ###. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 163 (l. 408).

3. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 45 (l. 394).

4. *Ibid.*, t. vii., p. j65 (l. 430).

5. ###. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 412 (l. 288), and t. vii., p. 167 (l. 442).

6. ###. *Ibid.*, t. vii., p. 160 (l. 390).

7. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 199 (1. 200).

8. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 10 (l. 54 ff.).

9. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 199 (1. 195 f.)

10. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 48 (l. 429).

11. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 167 (l. 66).

12 *Ibid.*, t. viii., p. 106 (l. 673).

13 ###. *Ibid.*, t. viii., p 110 (l. 692).]

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Those who would be hostile to the deceased become thereby foes of the god Tmu, and all injuries inflicted on him are inflicted on that god;[1] he dwells without fear under the protection of the gods,[2] from whose loins he has come forth.[3] To him "the earth is an abomination, and he will not enter into Seb; for his soul hath burst for ever the bonds of his sleep in his house which is upon earth. His calamities are brought to an end, for Unas hath been purified with the Eye of Horus; the calamities of Unas have been done away by Isis and Nephthys. Unas is in heaven, Unas is

in heaven, in the form of air, in the form of air; he perisheth not, neither doth anything which is in him perish.[4] He is firmly stablished in heaven, and he taketh his pure seat in the bows of the bark of Ra. Those who row Ra up into the heavens row him also, and those who row Ra beneath the horizon row him also."[5] The life which the deceased leads is said to be generally that of him "who entereth into the west of the sky, and who cometh forth from the east thereof."[6] In brief, the condition of the blessed is summed up in the following extract from the pyramid of Pepi I.:--

"Hail, Pepi, thou hast come, thou art glorious, and thou hast gotten might like the god who is seated upon his throne, that is Osiris. Thy soul is with thee in thy body, thy form of strength is behind thee, thy crown is upon thy head, thy head-dress is upon thy shoulders, thy face is before thee, and those who sing songs of joy are upon both sides of thee; those who follow in the train of God are behind thee, and the divine forms who make God to come are upon each side of thee. God cometh, and Pepi hath come upon the throne of Osiris. The shining one who dwelleth in Netat, the divine form that dwelleth in Teni, hath come. Isis speaketh unto thee, Nephthys holdeth converse with thee, and the shining ones come unto thee bowing down even to the ground in adoration at thy feet, by reason of the writing which thou hast, O Pepi, in the

region of Saa. Thou comest forth to thy mother Nut, and she strengtheneth thy arm, and she maketh a way for thee through the sky to the place where Ra abideth. Thou hast opened the gates of the sky, thou hast opened the doors of the celestial deep; thou hast found Ra and he watcheth over thee, he hath taken thee by thy hand, he hath led thee into the two regions of heaven, and he hath placed thee on the throne of Osiris. Then hail, O Pepi, for the Eye of Horus came to hold converse with thee; thy soul which was among the gods came unto thee; thy form of power which was dwelling among the shining ones came unto thee. As a son fighteth for his father, and as Horus avenged Osiris, even so doth Horus defend Pepi against his enemies. And thou

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 74 (1. 602).

2. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 46 (l. 405).

3. *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 202 (1. 209).

4. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 51 (1. 447 f.).

5. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 53 (l. 340).

6. ###. *Ibid.*, t. 8, p. 104 (l. 665).

7. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 159, (ll. 1-21).]

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"standest avenged, endowed with all things like unto a god, and equipped with all the forms of Osiris upon the throne of

Khent-Amenta. Thou doest that which he doeth among the immortal shining ones; thy soul sitteth upon its throne being provided with thy form, and it doeth that which thou doest in the presence of Him that liveth among the living, by the command of Ra, the great god. It reapeth the wheat, it cutteth the barley, and it giveth it unto thee. Now, therefore, O Pepi, he that hath given unto thee life and all power and eternity and the power of speech and thy body is Ra. Thou hast endued thyself with the forms of God, and thou hast become magnified thereby before the gods who dwell in the Lake. Hail, Pepi, thy soul standeth among the gods and among the shining ones, and the fear of thee striketh into their hearts. Hail, Pepi, thou placest thyself upon the throne of Him that dwelleth among the living, and it is the writing which thou hast [that striketh terror] into their hearts. Thy name shall live upon earth, thy name shall flourish upon earth, thou shalt neither perish nor be destroyed for ever and for ever."

Corporeal pleasures.

Side by side, however, with the passages which speak of the material and spiritual enjoyments of the deceased, we have others which seem to imply that the Egyptians believed in a corporeal existence,[1] or at least in the capacity for corporeal enjoyment, in the future state. This belief may have rested upon the view

that the life in the next world was but a continuation of the life upon earth, which it resembled closely, or it may have been due to the survival of semi-savage gross ideas incorporated into the religious texts of the Egyptians. However this may be, it is quite certain that in the Vth dynasty the deceased king Unas eats with his mouth, and exercises other natural functions of the body, and gratifies his passions.[2] But the most remarkable passage in this connection is one in the

[1. Compare: "O flesh of Teta, rot not, decay not, stink not." *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 55 (l. 347). "Pepi goeth forth with his flesh"; *ibid.*, t. v., p. 185 (1. 169). "thy bones shall not be destroyed, and thy flesh shall not perish"; *ibid.*, p. 55 (l. 353).

2. Compare the following passages:--

(*a*) ###. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 76 (ll. 628, 629).

(*b*) ###. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 37 (l. 277).

(*c*) *Ibid.*, t. iii., p. 197 (1. 182 f).

(*d*) Ibid., t. V., p. 40 (1. 286), and see M. Maspero's note on the same page.]

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Old tradition of hunting and devouring the gods.

pyramid of Unas. Here all creation is represented as being in terror when they see the deceased king rise up as a soul in the form of a god who devours "his fathers and mothers"; he feeds upon men and also upon gods. He hunts the gods in the fields and snares

them; and when they are tied up for slaughter he cuts their throats and disembowels them. He roasts and eats the best of them, but the old gods and goddesses are used for fuel. By eating them he imbibes both their magical powers, and their *khu's*. He becomes the "great Form, the form among forms, and the god of all the great gods who "exist in visible forms,"[1] and he is at the head of all the *sahu*, or spiritual bodies in heaven. He carries off the hearts of the gods, and devours the wisdom of every god; therefore the duration of his life is everlasting and he lives to all eternity, for the souls of the gods and their *khu's* are in him. The whole passage reads:--[2]

"(496) The heavens drop water, the stars throb, (497) the archers go round about, the (498) bones of Akeru tremble, and those who are in bondage to them take to flight when they see (499) Unas rise up as a soul, in the form of the god who liveth upon his fathers and who maketh food of his (500) mothers. Unas is the lord of wisdom, and (501) his mother knoweth not his name. The gifts of Unas are in heaven, and he hath become mighty in the horizon (502) like unto Tmu, the father that gave him birth, and after Tmu gave him birth (503) Unas became stronger than his father. The *ka's* of Unas are behind him, the sole of his foot is beneath his feet, his gods are over him, his uræi are [seated] (504) upon his brow, the

serpent guides of Unas are in front of him, and the spirit of the flame looketh upon [his]

[1. ###. Pyramid of Teta, 1. 327; *ibid.*, t. v., p. 50.

2. See Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iv., p. 59, t. v., p. 50; and *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xii, p. 128.]

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soul. The (505) powers of Unas protect him; Unas is a bull in heaven, he directeth his steps where he will, he liveth upon the form which (506) each god taketh upon himself, and be eateth the flesh of those who come to fill their bellies with the magical charms ill the Lake of Fire. Unas is (507) equipped with power against the shining spirits thereof, and he riseth up in the form of the mighty one, the lord of those who dwell in power (?). Unas hath taken his seat with his side turned towards Seb. (508) Unas hath weighed his words with the hidden god (?) who hath no name, on the day of hacking in pieces the firstborn. Unas is the lord of offerings, the untier of the knot, and he himself maketh abundant the offerings of meat and drink. (509) Unas devoureth men and liveth upon the gods, he is the lord to whom offerings are brought, and he counteth the lists thereof. He that cutteth off hairy scalps and dwelleth in the fields hath netted the gods in a snare; (510) he that arrangeth his head hath considered them [good] for Unas

and hath driven them unto him; and the cord-master hath bound them for slaughter. Khonsu the slayer of [his] lords hath cut their throats (511) and drawn out their inward parts, for it was he whom Unas sent to drive them in; and Shesem hath cut them in pieces and boiled their members in his blazing caldrons. (512) Unas hath eaten their magical powers, and he hath swallowed their spirits; the great ones among them serve for his meal at daybreak, the lesser serve for his meal at eventide, and the least among them serve for his meal in the night. (513) The old gods and the old goddesses become fuel for his furnace. The mighty ones in heaven shoot out fire under the caldrons which are heaped up with the haunches of the firstborn; and he that maketh those who live (514) in heaven to revolve round Unas hath shot into the caldrons the haunches of their women; he hath gone round about the two heavens in their entirety, and he hath gone round about the two banks of the celestial Nile. Unas is the great Form, the Form (515) of forms, and Unas is the chief of the gods in visible forms. Whatever he hath found upon his path he hath eaten forthwith, and the magical might of Unas is before that of all the (516) *sahu* who dwell in the horizon. Unas is the firstborn of the first born. Unas hath gone round thousands and he hath offered oblations unto hundreds; he hath manifested his might as the Great Form through Sah (Orion)

[who is greater] than (517) the gods. Unas repeateth his rising in heaven and he is the crown of the lord of the horizon. He hath reckoned up the bandlets and the arm-rings, he hath taken possession of the hearts of the gods (518). Unas hath eaten the red crown, and he hath swallowed the white crown; the food of Unas is the inward parts, and his meat is those who live upon (519) magical charms in their hearts. Behold, Unas eateth of that which the red crown sendeth forth, he increaseth, and the magical charms of the gods are in his belly; (520) that which belongeth to him is not turned back from him. Unas hath eaten the whole of the knowledge of every god, and the period of his life is eternity, and the duration of his existence is (521) everlastingness, in whatsoever he wisheth to take; whatsoever form he hateth he shall not labour in in the horizon for ever and ever and ever. The soul of the gods is in Unas, their spirits are with (522) Unas, and the offerings made unto him are more than those made unto the gods. The fire of Unas (523) is in their bones, for their soul is with Unas, and their shades are with those who belong unto them. (524) Unas hath been with the two hidden (?) Kha (?) gods who are without power (?) . . . . (525); the seat of the heart of Unas is among those who live upon this earth for ever and ever and ever."

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The notion that, by eating the flesh, or particularly by drinking the blood, of another living being, a man absorbs his nature or life into his own, is one which appears among primitive peoples in many forms. It lies at the root of the widespread practice of drinking the fresh blood of enemies--a practice which was familiar to certain tribes of the Arabs before Muhammad, and which tradition still ascribes to the wild race of Cahtâm-and also of the habit practised by many savage huntsmen of eating some part (*e.g.*, the liver) of dangerous carnivora, in order that the courage of the animal may pass into them.[1] The flesh and blood of brave men also are, among semi-savage or savage tribes, eaten and drunk to inspire courage.[2] But the idea of hunting, killing, roasting and eating the gods as described above is not apparently common among ancient nations; the main object of the dead king in doing this was to secure the eternal life which was the peculiar attribute of the gods.

[1. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 295; Fraser, *Golden Bough*, vol. ii., p. 86.

2. The Australian blacks kill a man, cut out his caul-fat, and rub themselves with it, "the belief being that all the qualifications, both physical and mental of the previous owner of the fat, were communicated to him who used it"; see Fraser, *Golden Bough*, vol. ii., p. 88.]

THE EGYPTIANS' IDEAS OF GOD.

The word neter and its meaning.

To the great and supreme power which made the earth, the heavens, the sea, the sky, men and women, animals, birds, and creeping things, all that is and all that shall be, the Egyptians gave the name *neter*. This word survives in the Coptic ###, but both in the ancient language and in its younger relative the exact meaning of the word is lost. M. Pierret,[2] following de Rougé, connects it with the word ### and says that it means "renovation" (*renouvellement*), but Brugsch[3] renders it by "göttlich," "heilig," "divin," "sacré," and by three Arabic words which mean "divine," "sacred *or* set apart," and "holy" respectively. By a quotation from the stele of Canopus he shows that in Ptolemaic times it meant "holy" or "sacred" when applied to the animals of the gods. Mr. Renouf[4] says that "the notion expressed by *nutar* as a noun, and *nutra* as an adjective or verb, must be sought in the Coptic ###, which in the translation of the Bible corresponds to the Greek words {Greek *du'namis*, *i?sxu's*, *i?sxuro's*, *i?sxupo'w*} 'power,' 'force,' 'strong,' 'fortify,' 'protect,'"[5] and he goes on to show that the word*neter* means "strong" or "mighty." M. Maspero, however, thinks that the Coptic *nomti* has nothing in common with meter, the Egyptian word for God, and that the passages quoted by Mr. Renouf in support of his theory can be otherwise explained.[6] His own opinion is that the signification "strong,"

if it ever existed, is a derived and not an original meaning, and he believes that the word is

[1. Several examples of the different ways in which the word is spelt are given by Maspero, *Notes sur différent point de Grammaire* (in *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, t. ii., Paris, 1873, p. 140).

2. Pierret, *Essai sur la Mythologie Égyptienne*, Paris, 1879, p. 8.

3. *Wörterbuch*, p. 825.

4. *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 95.

5. A number of examples are given in Tatham, *Lexicon*, Oxford, 1835, pp. 310 806.

6 *La Mythologie Égyptienne*, t. ii., p. 215.]

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so old that its first sense is unknown to us. The fact that the Coptic translators of the Bible used the word *nouti* to express the name of the Supreme Being shows that no other word conveyed to their minds their conception of Him, and supports M. Maspero's views on this point. Another definition of the word given by Brugsch makes it to mean "the active power which produces and creates things in regular recurrence; which bestows new life upon them, and gives back to them their youthful vigour,"[1] and he adds that the innate conception of the word completely covers the original meaning of the Greek {Greek *fu'sis*} and the Latin*natura*.

Neteru, the gods.

But side by side with *neter*, whatever it may mean, we have mentioned in texts of all ages a number of beings called *neteru* which Egyptologists universally translate by the word "gods." Among these must be included the great cosmic powers and the beings who, although held to be supernatural, were yet finite and mortal, and were endowed by the Egyptians with love, hatred, and passions of every sort and kind. The difference between the conceptions of *neter* the one supreme God and the *neteru* is best shown by an appeal to Egyptian texts.

In the pyramid of Unas it is said to the deceased,

un-k ar kes neter

Thou existest at the side of God.[3]

In the pyramid of Teta it is said of the deceased,

ut'a-f met neter as set'em-nef metu

He weigheth words, and, behold, God hearkeneth unto the words.[3]

nas en Teta neter

God hath called Teta[4] (in his name, etc.).

[1. Die thätige Kraft, welche in periodischer Wiederkehr die Dinge erzeugt und erschafft, ihnen neues Leben verleiht und die Jugendfrische zurückgiebt." *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 93.

2. Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. 202 (l. 209).

3. *Ibid.*, t. v., 27 (ll. 231, 232).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 26 (l. 223).]

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Views held in the first six dynasties.

In the pyramid of Pepi I. an address to the deceased king says,

sesep-nek aru neter aaa-k am xer neteru

Thou hast received the form of God, thou hast become great therewith before the gods.[1]

ta en mut-k Nut un-nek em neter en xeft-k em ren-k en nefer

Hath placed thy mother Nut thee to be as God to thine enemy in thy name of God.[2]

tua Pepi pen neter

Adoreth this Pepi God.[3]

Pepi pu ar neter sa neter

Pepi this is then God, the son of God.[4]

All these extracts are from texts of the Vth and VIth dynasties. It may be urged that we might as well translate *neter* by "a god" or "the god," but other evidence of the conception of *neter* at that early date is afforded by the following passages from the Prisse papyrus,[5] which, although belonging at the earliest to he XIth dynasty, contains copies of the Precepts of Kaqemna, written in the reign of Seneferu, a king of the IVth dynasty, and the Precepts of Ptah-hetep, written during the reign of Assa, a king of the Vth dynasty.[6]

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 160 (l. 19).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 162 (l. 33).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 191 (l. 185).

4. *Ibid.*, t. viii., p. 89 (l. 574).

5. See *Fac-simile d'un papyrus Égyptien en caractères hiératiques*, trouvé à Thèbes, donné à la Bibliothèque royale de Paris et publié par E. Prisse d'Avennes, Paris, 1847, fol. The last translation of the complete work is by Virey, *Études sur le Papyrus Prisse*, Paris, 1887.

6. M. Amélineau thinks (*La Morale Égyptienne*, p. xi.) that the Prisse papyrus was copied about the period of the XVIIth dynasty and that the works in it only date from the XIIth dynasty; but many Egyptologists assign the composition of the work to the age of Assa. See Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 201; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, p. 81.]

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Views held in the first six dynasties.

1. *an rex-entu xepert arit neter*

Not known are the things which will do God.[1]

2. *am-k ari her em reth xesef neter*

Thou shalt not cause terror in men and women, [for] is opposed God [thereto].[2]

3. *au am ta xer sexer neter*

The eating of bread is according to the plan of God.[3]

4. *ar seka-nek ter em sexet ta set neter*

If thou art a farmer, labour (?) in the field which hath given God [to thee].[4]

5. *ar un-nek em sa aqer ari-k sa en smam neter*

If thou wouldst be like a wise man, make thou [thy] son to be pleasing unto God.[5]

6. *sehetep aqu-k em xepert nek xepert en*

Satisfy those who depend on thee, so far as it may be done by thee; it should be done by

hesesu neter

those favoured of God.[6]

[1. Plate ii., l. 2.

2. Plate iv., line 8.

3. Plate vii., l. 2.

4 Plate vii., l. 5.

5. Plate vii., l. 11.

6. Plate xi., l. 1.]

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Views held in the first six dynasties.

7. If, having been of no account, thou hast become great, and if, having been poor, thou hast become rich, when thou art governor of the city be not hard-hearted on account of thy advancement, because

xeper-nek mer septu neter

thou hast become the guardian of the provisions of God.[1]

8. *mertu neter pu setem an setem en mesetu neter*

What is loved of God is obedience; disobedience hateth God.[2]

9. *mak sa nefer en tata neter*

Verily a good son is of the gifts of God.[3]

Passing from the Prisse papyrus, our next source of information is the famous papyrus[4] containing the "Maxims of Ani," which are well known through the labours of de Rougé,[5] Maspero,[6] Chabas[7] and Amélineau.[8] We should speak of them, however, more correctly as the Maxims of Khonsu-hetep.[9] The papyrus

[1. Plate xiii., l. 8.

2. Plate xvi., l. 7.

3. Plate xix., l. 6.

4. It was found in a box laid upon the floor of the tomb of a Christian monk at Dêr el-Medinet, The text was given by Mariette in *Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq, publiés en fac-simile sous les auspices de S.A. Ismaïl-Pacha, Khédive d'Égypte*.

5. In the Moniteur, 15 Août, 1861; and in *Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1871, pp. 340-50.

6. In the *Journal de Paris*, 15 Mars, 1871; and in the *Academy*, Aug. 1, No. 29, p. 386, 1871.

7. *L'Égyptologie*, Série I., tt. i., ii., Chalons-sur-Saône and Paris, 40., 1876-78. This work contains the hieratic text divided into sections for analysis, and accompanied by a hieroglyphic transcript, commentary, etc.

8. *La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère--Étude sur le Papyrus de Boulaq*, No. 4, Paris, 1892. This work contains a more accurate hieroglyphic transcript of the hieratic text, full translation, *etc*.

9. Maspero, *Lectures Historiques*, p. 16; Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. ix.]

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Views held in the XVIIIth dynasty.

was probably copied about the XXIInd dynasty; but the work itself may date from the XVIIIth. The following are examples of the use of *neter*:--

1. *Pa neter er seaaaua ren-f*

The God is for magnifying his name.[1]

2. *xennu en neter betu-tuf pu sehebu senemehu-nek*

The house of God what it hates is much speaking. Pray thou

em ab mert au metet-f nebt amennu ari-f

with a loving heart the petitions of which all are in secret. He will do

xeru-tuk setemu-f a t'et-tuk sesep utennu tu-k

thy business, he will hear that which thou sayest and will accept thine offerings.[2]

3. *au tau neter-kua unnu*

Giveth thy God existence.[3]

4. *Pa neter aput pa maa*

The God will judge the right.[4]

5. *utennu neter-ku sau-tu er na betau-tuf*

In offering to thy God guard thou against the things which He abominateth.

[1. Amélineau, *La Morale*, p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 138.]

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Views held in the XVIIIth dynasty.

a ennu maat-k er paif sexeru qentet emtuk

O behold with thine eye His plans. Devote thyself

senenti-tu ent ren-f su tat baiu heh en aaru

to adore His name. It is He who giveth souls to millions of forms,

se-aaaua pa enti seaaaua-f ar neter ta pen

and He magnifieth whosoever magnifieth him. Now the God of this earth

en pa Suu her xut du nai-f matui

is the sun who is the ruler of the horizon, [and] his similitudes are

her tep ta tata-tha neter sentra em kai-set emment

upon earth is given incense with their food offerings to these daily.[1]

6. *faau-s aaui-set en pa neter emtuf setemu*

If she (*i.e.*, thy mother) raiseth her hands to God, he will hear

sebehu-set

her prayers[2] [and rebuke thee].

7. *amma su en pa neter sauu-k su emment en*

Give thyself to God, keep thou thyself daily for

pa neter au tuauu ma qeti pa haru

God; and let to-morrow be as to-day.[3]

[1. *Amélineau, La Morale*, p. 141.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 172.]

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The passages from the pyramid of Pepi show at once the difference between *neter* as God, and the "gods" *neteru*; the other passages, which might be multiplied almost indefinitely, prove that the Being spoken of is God. The *neteru* or "gods" whom Unas hunted, and snared, and killed, and roasted, and ate, are beings who could die; to them were attributed bodies, souls, *ka's*, spiritual bodies, *etc*. In a remarkable passage from the CLIVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead (Naville,*Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 179, l. 3) the deceased king Thothmes III. prays:--

seset-kua emxet-k Tem huau ma ennu ari-k

Preserve me behind thee, O Tmu, from decay such as that which thou workest

er meter neb netert nebt er aut neb er t'etfet neb

for god every, and goddess every, for animals all, for reptiles all

sebuit-f per ba-f emxet mit-f ha-f

for each passeth away when hath gone forth his soul after his death, he perisheth

emxet sebi-f

after he hath passed away.

The gods mortal.

Of these mortal gods some curious legends have come down to us; from which the following may be selected as illustrating their inferior position.

THE LEGEND OF RA AND ISIS.

Now Isis was a woman who possessed words of power; her heart was wearied with the millions of men, and she chose the millions of the gods, but she esteemed more highly the millions of the *khu's*. And she meditated in her heart, saying, "Cannot I by means of the sacred name of God make myself mistress of the earth and become a goddess like unto

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Legend of Ra and Isis.

"Ra in heaven and upon earth?" Now, behold, each day Ra entered at the head of his holy mariners and established himself upon the throne of the two horizons. The holy one had grown old, he dribbled at the mouth, his spittle fell upon the earth, and his slobbering

dropped upon the ground. And Isis kneaded it with earth in her hand, and formed thereof a sacred serpent in the form of a spear; she set it not upright before her face, but let it lie upon the ground in the path whereby the great god went forth, according to his heart's desire, into his double kingdom. Now the holy god arose, and the gods who followed him as though he were Pharaoh went with him; and he came forth according to his daily wont; and the sacred serpent bit him. The flame of life departed from him, and he who dwelt among the cedars (?) was overcome. The holy god opened his mouth, and the cry of his majesty reached unto heaven. His company of gods said, "What hath happened?" and his gods exclaimed, "What is it?" But Ra could not answer, for his jaws trembled and all his members quaked; the poison spread swiftly through his flesh just as the Nile invadeth all his land. When the great god had stablished his heart, he cried unto those who were in his train, saying, "Come unto me, O ye who have come into being from my body, ye gods who have come forth from me, make ye known unto Khepera that a dire calamity hath fallen upon me. My heart perceiveth it, but my eyes see it not; my hand hath not caused it, nor do I know who hath done this unto me. Never have I felt such pain, neither can sickness cause more woe than this. I am a prince, the son of a prince, a sacred essence which hath preceded

from God. I am a great one, the son of a great one, and my father planned my name; I have multitudes of names and multitudes of forms, and my existence is in every god. I have been proclaimed by the heralds Tmu and Horus, and my father and my mother uttered my name; but it hath been hidden within me by him that begat me, who would not that the words of power of any seer should have dominion over me. I came forth to look upon that which I had made, I was passing through the world which I had created, when lo! something stung me, but what I know not. Is it fire? Is it water? My heart is on fire, my flesh quaketh, and trembling hath seized all my limbs. Let there be brought unto me the children of the gods with healing words and with lips that know, and with power which reacheth unto heaven." The children of every god came unto him in tears, Isis came with her healing words and with her mouth full of the breath of life, with her enchantments which destroy sickness, and with her words of power which make the dead to live. And she spake, saying, "What hath come to pass, O holy father? What hath happened? A serpent hath bitten thee, and a thing which thou hast created hath lifted up his head against thee. Verily it shall be cast forth by my healing words of power, and I will drive it away from before the sight of thy sunbeams."

The holy god opened his mouth and said, "I was passing along my path, and I was going through the two regions of my lands according to my heart's desire, to see that which I had created, when lo! I was bitten by a serpent which I saw not. Is it fire? Is it water? I am colder than water, I am hotter than fire. All my flesh sweateth, I quake, my eye hath no strength, I cannot see the sky, and the sweat rusheth to my face even as in the time of summer." Then said Isis unto Ra, "O tell me thy name, holy father, for whosoever shall be delivered by thy name shall live." [And Ra said], "I have made the heavens and the earth, I have ordered the mountains, I have created all that is above them, I have made the water, I have made to come into being the great and wide sea, I have made the 'Bull of

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his mother,' from whom spring the delights of love. I have made the heavens, I have stretched out the two horizons like a curtain, and I have placed the soul of the gods within them. I am he who, if he openeth his eyes, doth make the light, and, if he closeth them, darkness cometh into being. At his command the Nile riseth, and the gods know not his name. I have made the hours, I have

created the days, I bring forward the festivals of the year, I create the Nile-flood. I make the fire of life, and I provide food in the houses. I am Khepera in the morning, I am Ra at noon, and I am Tmu at even." Meanwhile the poison was not taken away from his body, but it pierced deeper, and the great god could no longer walk.

Then said Isis unto Ra, "What thou hast said is not thy name. O tell it unto me, and the poison shall depart; for he shall live whose name shall be revealed." Now the poison burned like fire, and it was fiercer than the flame and the furnace, and the majesty of the god said, "I consent that Isis shall search into me, and that my name shall pass from me into her." Then the god hid himself from the gods, and his place in the boat of millions of years was empty. And when the time arrived for the heart of Ra to come forth, Isis spake unto her son Horus, saying, "The god hath bound himself by an oath to deliver up his two eyes" (*i.e.*, the sun and moon). Thus was the name of the great god taken from him, and Isis, the lady of enchantments, said, "Depart, poison, go forth from Ra. O eye of Horus, go forth from the god, and shine outside his mouth. It is I who work, it is I who make to fall down upon the earth the vanquished poison; for the name of the great god hath been taken away from him. May Ra live! and may the poison die, may the

poison die, and may Ra live!" These are the words of Isis, the great goddess, the queen of the gods, who knew Ra by his own name.[1]

Thus we see that even to the great god Ra were attributed all the weakness and frailty of mortal man; and that "gods" and "goddesses" were classed with beasts and reptiles, which could die and perish. As a result, it seems that the word "God" should be reserved to express the name of the Creator of the Universe, and that *neteru*, usually rendered "gods," should be translated by some other word, but what that word should be it is almost impossible to say.[2]

The belief in One God.

From the attributes of God set forth in Egyptian texts of all periods, Dr. Brugsch, de Rougé, and other eminent Egyptologists have come to the opinion that the dwellers in the Nile valley, from the earliest times, knew and worshipped one God, nameless, incomprehensible, and eternal. In 1860 de Rougé wrote:--"The

[1. The hieratic text of this story was published by Pleyte and Rossi, *Le Papyrus de Turin*, 1869-1876, pll. 31-77, and 131-138; a French translation of it was published by M. Lefébure, who first recognized the true character of the composition, in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 27 ff; and a German translation by Wiedemann is in his collection of "Sonnensagen," *Religion der alten Aegypter*, Münster, 1890, p. 29 ff.

2 A similar difficulty also exists in Hebrew, for *elomhim* means both God and "gods"; compare Psalm lxxxii., i.]

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unity of a supreme and self-existent being, his eternity, his almightiness, and external reproduction thereby as God; the attributing of the creation of the world and of all living beings to this supreme God; the immortality of the soul, completed by the dogma of punishments and rewards: such is the sublime and persistent base which, notwithstanding all deviations and all mythological embellishments, must secure for the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians a most honourable place among the religions of antiquity."[1] Nine years later he developed this view, and discussed the difficulty of reconciling the belief in the unity of God with the polytheism which existed in Egypt from the earliest times, and he repeated his conviction that the Egyptians believed in a self-existent God who was One Being, who had created man, and who had endowed him with an immortal soul.[2] In fact, de Rougé amplifies what Champollion-Figeac (relying upon his brother's information) wrote in 1839: "The Egyptian religion is a pure monotheism, which manifested itself externally by a symbolic polytheism."[3] M. Pierret adopts the view that the texts show us that the Egyptians believed in One infinite and eternal God who was without a second, and he repeats Champollion's dictum.[4] But the most recent supporter of the monotheistic theory is Dr.

Brugsch, who has collected a number of striking passages from the texts. From these passages we may select the following:--

God is one and alone, and none other existeth with Him--God is the One, the One who hath made all things--God is a spirit, a hidden spirit, the spirit of spirits, the great spirit of the Egyptians, the divine spirit--God is from the beginning, and He hath been from the beginning, He hath existed from old and was when nothing else had being. He existed when nothing else existed, and what existeth He created after He had come into being, He is the Father of beginnings--God is the eternal One, He is eternal and infinite and endureth for ever and aye--God is hidden and no man knoweth His form. No man hath been able to seek out His likeness; He is hidden to gods and men, and He is a mystery unto His creatures. No man knoweth how to know Him--His name remaineth hidden; His name is a mystery unto His children. His names are innumerable, they are manifold and none knoweth their number--God is truth and He liveth by truth and He feedeth thereon. He is the king of truth, and He hath stablished the earth thereupon--God is life and through Him

[1. *Études des Rituel Funéraire des Anciens Égyptiens* (in *Revue Archéologique*), Paris, 1860, p. 72.

2. La croyance à l'Unité du Dieu suprême, à ses attributs de Créateur et de Législateur de l'homme, qu'il a doué d'une âme immortelle; voilà les

notions primitives enchâssées comme des diamants indestructibles au milieu des superfétations mythologiques accumulées par les siècles qui ont passé sur cette vieille civilization. See *Conference sur la Religion des anciens Égyptiens* (in *Annales de Philosophic Chrétienne*, 5[ième] Série, t. xx., Paris, 1869, pp. 325-337).

3. *Égypte*, Paris, 1839, p. 245, col. 1.

4. *Le Panthéon Égyptien*, Paris, 1881, p. 4.]

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only man liveth. He giveth life to man, He breatheth the breath of life into his nostrils--God is father and mother, the father of fathers, and the mother of mothers. He begetteth, but was never begotten; He produceth, but was never produced; He begat himself and produced himself. He createth, but was never created; He is the maker of his own form, and the fashioner of His own body--God Himself is existence, He endureth without increase or diminution, He multiplieth Himself millions of times, and He is manifold in forms and in members--God hath made the universe, and He hath created all that therein is; He is the Creator of what is in this world, and of what was, of what is, and of what shall be. He is the Creator of the heavens, and of the earth, and of the deep, and of the water, and of the mountains. God hath stretched out the heavens and founded the earth-What His heart conceived straightway came to pass, and when He hath spoken, it cometh to pass and endureth for ever--God is the father of the gods; He

fashioned men and formed the gods--God is merciful unto those who reverence Him, and He heareth him that calleth upon Him. God knoweth him that acknowledgeth Him, He rewardeth him that serveth Him, and He protecteth him that followeth Him.[1]

Monotheism and polytheism coexistent.

Because, however, polytheism existed side by side with monotheism in Egypt, M. Maspero believes that the words "God One" do not mean "One God" in our sense of the words; and Mr. Renouf thinks that the "Egyptian *nutar* never became a proper name."[2] Whether polytheism grew from monotheism in Egypt, or monotheism from polytheism we will not venture to say, for the evidence of the pyramid texts shows that already in the Vth dynasty monotheism and polytheism were flourishing side by side. The opinion of Tiele is that the religion of Egypt was from the beginning polytheistic, but that it developed in two opposite directions: in the one direction gods were multiplied by the addition of local gods, and in the other the Egyptians drew nearer and nearer to monotheism.[3]

The sun the emblem of God.

From a number of passages drawn from texts of all periods it is clear that the form in which God made himself manifest to man upon

earth was the sun, which the Egyptians called Ra and that all other gods and goddesses were forms of him. The principal authorities for epithets applied to God and to His visible emblem the sun are the hymns and litanies which are found inscribed upon

[1. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 96-99. The whole chapter on the ancient Egyptian conception of God should be read with M. Maspero's comments upon it in *La Mythologie Égyptienne* (*Études de Mythologie*, t. ii., p. 189 ff.).

2. *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 99.

3. *Hypothezen omtrent de wording van den Egyptischen Godsdienst* (in *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid*, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 25); and see Lieblein, *Egyptian Religion*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 10.

4 See the chapter "Dieu se manifestant par le soleil," in Pierret, *Essai sur la Mythologie Égyptienne*, pp. 18, 19.]

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Confusion of gods.

the walls of tombs,[1] stelæ, and papyri[2] of the XVIIIth dynasty; and these prove that the Egyptians ascribed the attributes of the Creator to the creature. The religious ideas which we find in these writings in the XVIIIth dynasty are, no doubt, the outcome of the religion of earlier times, for all the evidence now available shows that the Egyptians of the later periods invented comparatively little in the way of religious literature. Where, how, and in what way they succeeded in preserving their most ancient texts, are matters about which little, unfortunately, is

known. In course of time we find that the attributes of a certain god in one period are applied to other gods in another; a new god is formed by the fusion of two or more gods; local gods, through the favourable help of political circumstances, or the fortune of war, become almost national gods; and the gods who are the companions of Osiris are endowed by the pious with all the attributes of the great cosmic gods--Ra, Ptah, Khnemu, Khepera, and the like. Thus the attributes of Ra are bestowed upon Khnemu and Khepera; the god Horus exists in the aspects of Heru-maati, Heru-khent-an-maa, Heru-Khuti, Heru-nub, Heru-behutet, *etc.*, and the attributes of each are confounded either in periods or localities: Tmu-Ra, and Menthu-Ra, and Amen-Ra are composed of Tmu and Ra, and Menthu and Ra, and Amen and Ra respectively, and we have seen from the hymn quoted above (p. lii.) that already in the XVIIIth dynasty the god Osiris had absorbed the attributes which belonged in the earlier dynasties to Ra alone.

History of the god Amen.

Still more remarkable, however, is the progress of the god Amen in Egyptian theology. In the early empire, *i.e.*, during the first eleven dynasties, this god ranked only as a local god, although his name is as old as the time of Unas;[3] and

[1. *E.g.*, the litany from the tomb of Seti I., published by Naville, *La Litanie du Soleil*, Leipzig, 1875, p. 13 ff.

2. *E.g.*, Hymn to Amen-Ra, translated by Goodwin from papyrus No. 17, now preserved in the Gizeh Museum (see *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, ed. Mariette, Paris, 1872, pll. 1-13; *Records of the Past*, vol. i., p. 127 f., and *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. ii., p. 250), and by Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra*, Paris, 1874); *Hymns to Amen*, translated by Goodwin (see*Records of the Past*, vol. vi., p. 97 f.; *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. ii., p. 353), and Chabas (*Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 1870, p. 117); *Hymn to Osiris*, translated by Chabas (*Revue Archéologique*, t. xiv., Paris, 1857, p. 65 ff.), and Goodwin (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv., p. 97 ff.). The various versions of the XVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, which consists of a series of hymns, are given in the Theban edition by Naville (*Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bll. 14-23), and the text of the later Saïte version is discussed and translated by Lefébure, *Traduction comparée des hymnes au Soleil*, Paris, 1868, 4to.

3. "Amen and Ament," are mentioned in 1. 558 of the inscription of this king; see Maspero, *Recueil*, t. iv., p. 66.]

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it is not until the so-called Hyksos have been expelled from Egypt by the Theban kings of the XVIIth dynasty that Amen, whom the latter had chosen as their great god, and whose worship they had declined to renounce at the bidding of the Hyksos king Apepi,[1] was acknowledged as the national god of southern Egypt at least. Having by virtue of being the god of the conquerors obtained the position of head of the company of Egyptian gods, he received the attributes of the most ancient gods, and little by little he absorbed the epithets of them all. Thus Amen became Amen-Ra, and the glory of the old gods of Annu, or Heliopolis, was centred in

him who was originally an obscure local god. The worship of Amen in Egypt was furthered by the priests of the great college of Amen, which seems to have been established early in the XVIIIth dynasty by the kings who were his devout worshippers. The extract from a papyrus written for the princess Nesi-Khonsu,[2] a member of the priesthood of Amen, is an example of the exalted language in which his votaries addressed him.

"This is the sacred god, the lord of all the gods, Amen-Ra, the lord of the throne of the world, the prince of Apt,[3] the sacred soul who came into being in the beginning, the great god who liveth by right and truth, the first ennead which gave birth unto the other two enneads,[4] the being in whom every god existeth, the One of One,[5] the creator of the things which came into being when the earth took form in the beginning, whose births are hidden, whose forms are manifold, and whose growth cannot be known. The sacred Form, beloved, terrible and mighty in his two risings (?), the lord of space, the mighty one of the form of Khepera, who came into existence through Khepera, the lord of the form of Khepera; when he came into being nothing existed except himself. He shone upon the earth from primeval time [in the form of] the Disk, the prince of light and radiance. He giveth light and radiance. He giveth light unto all peoples. He saileth over heaven and never

resteth, and on the morrow his vigour is stablished as before; having become old [to-day], he becometh young again to-morrow. He mastereth the bounds of eternity, he goeth roundabout heaven, and entereth into the Tuat to illumine the two lands which he hath created. When the divine (*or* mighty) God,[6] moulded himself, the heavens and the earth were made by his

[1. The literature relating to the fragment of the Sallier papyrus recording this fact is given by Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 299.

2 The hieratic text is published, with a hieroglyphic transcript, by Maspero, *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, t. i., p. 594 ff., and pll. 25-27.

3 A district of Thebes on the east bank of the Nile, the modern Karnak.

4 See within, p: xcvii.

5. ###.

6. ### *neter netra*. M. Maspero translates "dieu exerçant sa fonction de dieu, dieu en activité de service," or "dieu déisant."]

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conception.[1] He is the prince of princes, the mightiest of the mighty, he is greater than the gods, he is the young bull with sharp pointed horns, and he protecteth the world in his great name 'Eternity cometh with its power and bringing therewith the bounds (?) of everlastingness.' He is the firstborn god, the god who existed from the beginning, the governor of the world by reason

of his strength, the terrible one of the two lion-gods,[2] the aged one, the form of Khepera which existeth in all the gods, the lion of fearsome glance, the governor terrible by reason of his two eyes,[3] the lord who shooteth forth flame [therefrom] against his enemies. He is the primeval water which floweth forth in its season to make to live all that cometh forth upon his potter's wheel.[4] He is the disk of the Moon, the beauties whereof pervade heaven and earth, the untiring and beneficent king, whose will germinateth from rising to setting, from whose divine eyes men and women come forth, and from whose mouth the gods do come, and [by whom] food and meat and drink are made and provided, and [by whom] the things which exist are created. He is the lord of time and he traverseth eternity; he is the aged one who reneweth his youth he hath multitudes of eyes and myriads of ears; his rays are the guides of millions of men he is the lord of life and giveth unto those who love him the whole earth, and they are under the protection of his face. When he goeth forth he worketh unopposed, and no man can make of none effect that which he hath done. His name is gracious, and the love of him is sweet; and at the dawn all people make supplication unto him through his mighty power and terrible strength, and every god lieth in fear of him. He is the young bull that destroyeth the wicked, and his strong arm

fighteth against his foes. Through him did the earth come into being in the beginning. He is the Soul which shineth through his divine eyes,[3] he is the Being endowed with power and the maker of all that hath come into being, and he ordered the world, and he cannot be known. He is the King who maketh kings to reign, and he directeth the world in his course; gods and goddesses bow down in adoration before his Soul by reason of the awful terror which belongeth unto him. He hath gone before and hath stablished all that cometh after him, and he made the universe in the beginning by his secret counsels. He is the Being who cannot be known, and he is more hidden than all the gods. He maketh the Disk to be his vicar, and he himself cannot be known, and he hideth himself from that which cometh forth from him. He is a bright flame of fire, mighty in splendours, he can be seen only in the form in which he showeth himself, and he can be gazed upon only when he manifesteth himself, and that which is in him cannot be understood. At break of day all peoples make supplication unto him, and when he riseth with hues of orange and saffron among the company of the gods he becometh the greatly desired one of every god. The god Nu appeareth with the breath of the north wind in this hidden god who maketh for untold millions of men the decrees which abide for ever; his decrees

[1. Literally "his heart," *ab-f*.

2 *I.e.*, Shu and Tefnut.

3 *I.e.*, the Sun and the Moon, *ut'ati*.

4. *nehep*; other examples of the use of this word are given by Brugsch, Wörterbuch (Suppl., p. 690).]

"are gracious and well doing, and they fall not to the ground until they have fulfilled their purpose. He giveth long life and multiplieth the years of those who are favoured by him, he is the gracious protector of him whom he setteth in his heart, and he is the fashioner of eternity and everlastingness. He is the king of the North and of the South, Amen-Ra, king of the gods, the lord of heaven, and of earth and of the waters and of the mountains, with whose coming into being the earth began its existence, the mighty one, more princely than all the gods of the first company thereof."

Theories of the origin of the gods.

With reference to the origin of the gods of the Egyptians much useful information may be derived from the pyramid texts. From them it would seem that, in the earliest times, the Egyptians had tried to think out and explain to themselves the origin of their gods and of their groupings. According to M. Maspero[1] they

reduced everything to one kind of primeval matter which they believed contained everything in embryo; this matter was water, Nu, which they deified, and everything which arose therefrom was a god. The priests of Annu at a very early period grouped together the nine greatest gods of Egypt, forming what is called the *paut neteru* or "company of the gods," or as it is written in the pyramid texts, *paut aat*, "the great company of gods"; the texts also show that there was a second group of nine gods called *paut net'eset* or "lesser company of the gods"; and a third group of nine gods is also known. When all three *pauts* of gods are addressed they appear as ###.[2] The great cycle of the gods in Annu was composed of the gods Tmu, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set and Nephthys; but, though *paut* means " nine," the texts do not always limit a *paut* of the gods to that number, for sometimes the gods amount to twelve, and sometimes, even though the number be nine, other gods are substituted for the original gods of the *paut*. We should naturally expect Ra to stand at the head of the great *paut* of the gods; but it must be remembered that the chief local god of Annu was Tmu, and, as the priests of that city revised and edited the pyramid texts known to us, they naturally substituted their own form of the god Ra, or at best united him with Ra, and called him Tmu-Ra. In the primeval matter, or water, lived the god Tmu,

and when he rose for the first time, in the form of the sun, he created the world. Here at once we have Tmu assimilated with Nu. A curious passage in the pyramid of Pepi I. shows that while as yet there was neither

[1. *La Mythologie Égyptienne* (*Études*, t. ii., p. 237).

2. See Pyramid of Teta, l. 307 (Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 46).]

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heaven nor earth, and when neither gods had been born, nor men created, the god Tmu was the father of human beings,[1] even before death came into the world. The first act of Tmu was to create from his own body the god Shu and the goddess Tefnut;[2] and afterwards Seb the earth and Nut the sky came into being. These were followed by Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys.

Dr. Brugsch's version of the origin of the gods as put forth in his last work on the subject[3] is somewhat different. According to him there was in the beginning neither heaven nor earth, and nothing existed except a boundless primeval mass of water which was shrouded in darkness and which contained within itself the germs or beginnings, male and female, of everything which was to be in the future world. The divine primeval spirit which formed

an essential part of the primeval matter felt within itself the desire to begin the work of creation, and its word woke to life the world, the form and shape of which it had already depicted to itself. The first act of creation began with the formation of an egg[4] out of the primeval water, from which broke forth Ra, the immediate cause of all life upon earth. The almighty power of the divine spirit embodied itself in its most brilliant form in the rising sun. When the inert mass of primeval matter felt the desire of the primeval spirit to begin the work of creation, it began to move, and the creatures which were to constitute the future world were formed

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. viii., p. 104 (l. 664). The passage reads:--

mes Pepi pen au atf Tem an xepert pet an

Gave birth to Pepi this father Tmu [when] not was created heaven, not

xepert ta an xepert reth an mest neteru an xepert met

was created earth, not were created men, not were born the gods, not was created death.

2. *Recueil de Travaux*, l. vii., p. 170 (l. 466).

3. *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 101.

4 A number of valuable facts concerning the place of the egg in the Egyptian Religion have been collected by Lefébure, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xvi., Paris, 1887, p. 16 ff.]

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according to the divine intelligence *Maa*. Under the influence of Thoth, or that form of the divine intelligence which created the world by a word, eight elements, four male and four female, arose out of the primeval *Nu*, which possessed the properties of the male and female. These eight elements were called Nu and Nut,[1] Heh and Hehet,[2] Kek and Keket,[3] and Enen and Enenet,[4] or Khemennu, the "Eight," and they were considered as primeval fathers and mothers.[5] They are often represented in the forms of four male and four female apes who stand in adoration and greet the rising sun with songs and hymns of praise,[6] but they also appear as male and female human forms with the heads of frogs or serpents.[7] The birth of light from the waters, and of fire from the moist mass of primeval matter, and of Ra from Nu, formed the starting point of all mythological speculations, conjectures, and theories of the Egyptian priests.[8] The light of the sun gave birth to itself out of chaos, and the conception of the future world was depicted in Thoth the divine intelligence; when Thoth gave the word, what he commanded at once took place by means of Ptah and Khnemu, the visible representatives of the power which turned Thoth's command into deed. Khnemu made the egg of the sun,[9] and Ptah gave to the god of light a finished body.[10] The first

paut of the gods consisted of Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set, Nephthys and Horus, and their governor Tmu or Atmu.[11]

Egyptian account of the Creation.

In a late copy of a work entitled the "Book of knowing the evolutions of Ra, the god Neb-er-tcher, the "lord of the company of the gods," records the story of the creation and of the birth of the gods:--"I am he who evolved himself under the form of the god Khepera, I, the evolver of the evolutions evolved myself, the evolver of all evolutions, after many evolutions and developments which came forth from my mouth.[12] No heaven existed, and no earth, and no terrestrial animals or reptiles had come into being. I formed them out of the inert mass of watery matter, I found no place whereon to stand . . . . . I was alone, and the gods Shu and Tefnut had not gone forth from me; there existed

[1. Brugsch, *Religion*, pp. 128, 129.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 152.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

12 The variant version says, "I developed myself from the primeval matter which I had made." and adds, "My name is Osiris, ###, the substance of primeval matter."]

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"none other who worked with me. I laid the foundations of all things by my will, and all things evolved themselves therefrom.[1] I united myself to my shadow, and I sent forth Shu and Tefnut out from myself; thus from being one god I became three, and Shu and Tefnut gave birth to Nut and Seb, and Nut gave birth to Osiris, Horus-Khent-an-maa, Sut, Isis, and Nephthys, at one birth, one after the other, and their children multiply upon this earth."[2]

Summary of theories.

The reader has now before him the main points of the evidence concerning the Egyptians' notions about God, and the cosmic powers and their phases, and the anthropomorphic creations with which they peopled the other world, all of which have been derived from the native literature of ancient Egypt. The different interpretations which different Egyptologists have placed upon the facts demonstrate the difficulty of the subject. Speaking

generally, the interpreters may be divided into two classes: those who credit the Egyptians with a number of abstract ideas about God and the creation of the world and the future life, which are held to be essentially the product of modern Christian nations; and those who consider the mind of the Egyptian as that of a half-savage being to whom occasional glimmerings of spiritual light were vouchsafed from time to time. All eastern nations have experienced difficulty in separating spiritual from corporeal conceptions, and the Egyptian is no exception to the rule; but if he preserved the gross idea of a primeval existence with the sublime idea of God which he manifests in writings of a later date, it seems that this is due more to his reverence for hereditary tradition than to ignorance. Without attempting to decide questions which have presented difficulties to the greatest thinkers among Egyptologists, it may safely be said that the Egyptian whose mind conceived the existence of an unknown, inscrutable, eternal and infinite God, who was One-whatever the word One may mean here and who himself believed in a future life to be spent in a glorified body in heaven, was not a being whose spiritual needs would be satisfied by a belief in gods who could eat, and drink, love and hate, and fight and grow old and die. He was unable to describe the infinite God, himself being finite,

and it is not surprising that he should, in some respects, have made Him in his own image.

[1. The variant version has, "I brought into my own mouth my name as a word of power, and I straightway came into being."

2 The papyrus from which these extracts are taken is in the British Museum, No. 10188. A hieroglyphic transcript and translation will be found in *Archæologia*, vol. lii., pp. 440-443. For the passages quoted see Col. 26, l. 22; Col. 27, l. 5; and Col. 28, l. 20; Col. 29, l. 6.]

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THE ABODE OF THE BLESSED.

The Egyptian heaven.

The gods of the Egyptians dwelt in a heaven with their *ka's*, and *khu's*, and shadows, and there they received the blessed dead to dwell with them. This heaven was situated in the sky, which the Egyptians believed to be like an iron ceiling, either flat or vaulted, and to correspond in extent and shape with the earth beneath it. This ceiling was rectangular, and was supported at each corner by a pillar; in this idea, we have, as M. Maspero has observed, a survival of the roof-tree of very primitive nations. At a very early date the four pillars were identified with "the four ancient *khu's* who dwell in the hair of Horus,"[1] who are also said to be "the four gods who stand by the pillar-sceptres of heaven."[2] These four gods are "children of Horus,"[3] and

their names are Amset, Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf.[4] They were supposed to preside over the four quarters of the world, and subsequently were acknowledged to be the gods of the cardinal points. The Egyptians named the sky or heaven *pet*. A less primitive view made the heavens in the form of the goddess Nut who was represented as a woman with bowed body whose hands and feet rest on the earth. In this case the two arms and the two

[1. ###. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 55 (l. 473); and compare ###. *Ibid.*, t. v. p. 186 (l. 171).

2. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 27 (1. 233).

3. Ibid., p. 39 (l. 281).

4 Ibid., p. 10 (l. 60).]

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The Egyptian heaven.

legs form the four pillars upon which the heavens are supported. Nut, the sky goddess, was the wife of Seb, the earth god, from whose embrace she was separated by Shu, the god of the air; when this separation was effected, earth, air, and sky came into being. Signor Lanzone has collected a number of illustrations of this event from papyri and other documents,[1] wherein we have Seb lying on the ground, and Shu uplifting Nut with his outstretched hands. The feet of the goddess rested on the east, and her hands

on the west this is shown by the scene wherein Shu is accompanied by two females who have on their heads "east" and, "west" respectively.[2] The child of the union of Seb and Nut was the Sun, who was born in the east in the morning, and who made

[1. *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, tavv. i 150 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, tav. 158.]

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his course along his mother's body, until he set in the west in the evening. The moon followed the sun's course along his mother's body, but sometimes a second female is represented bowed beneath Nut [1] (Fig. 2), and this is believed to signify the night sky across which the moon travels. In an interesting picture which M. Jéquier has published[2] the goddess is depicted lying flat with her arms stretched out at full length above her head; on her breast is the disk of the sun, and on her stomach the moon. Those who believed that the sky was an iron plane imagined that the stars were a numbers of lamps which were hung out therefrom, and those who pictured the sky as a goddess studded her body with stars. One scene makes the morning and evening boats of Ra to sail along the back of Nut;[3] another depicts Shu holding up the boat of

the sun wherein is the disk on the horizon.[4] A third from the sarcophagus of Seti I. represents Nu the god of the primeval water holding up the boat of the sun, wherein we see the beetle with the solar disk facing it accompanied by Isis and Nephthys, who stand one on each side; behind Isis stand the gods Seb, Shu, Hek, Hu, and Sa, and behind Nephthys are three deities who represent the doors through which the god Tmu has made his way to the world.[5]

The *Tuat*, or abode of the dead.

Within the two bowed female figures which represent the day and the night sky, and which have been referred to above (Fig. 2), is a third figure which is bent

[1. Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 155.

2. *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès*, p. 3

3 Ibid., tav. 157.

4. Ibid., tav. 158.

5 *Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie*, p. 216.]

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The Egyptian heaven.

round in a circle; the space enclosed by it represents according to Dr. Brugsch the *Tuat*[1]or Egyptian underworld, wherein dwelt

the gods of the dead and the departed souls. This view is supported by the scene from the sarcophagus of Seti I. (Fig. 1). In the watery space above the bark is the figure of the god bent round in a circle with his toes touching his head, and upon his head stands the goddess Nut with outstretched hands receiving the disk of the sun.[2] In the space enclosed by the body of the god is the legend, "This is Osiris; his circuit is the Tuat."[3] Though nearly all Egyptologists agree about the meaning of the word being "the place of departed souls," yet it has been translated in various ways, different scholars locating the Tuat in different parts of creation. Dr. Brugsch and others place it under the earth,[4] others have supposed it to be the space which exists between the arms of Shu and the body of Nut,[5] but the most recent theory put forth is that it was situated neither above nor below the earth, but beyond Egypt to the north, from which it was separated by the mountain range which, as the Egyptians thought, supported the sky.[6] The region of the Tuat was a long, mountainous, narrow valley with a river running along it; starting from the east it made its way to the north, and then taking a circular direction it came back to the east. In the Tuat lived all manner of fearful monsters and beasts, and here was the country through which the sun passed during the twelve hours of the night; according to one

view he traversed this region in splendour, and according to another he died and became subject to Osiris the king, god and judge of the kingdom of the departed.

The souls of the dead made their way to their abode in the "other world" by a ladder, according to a very ancient view, or through a gap in the mountains of Abydos called Peka according to another; but, by whichever way they passed from earth, their destination was a region in the Tuat which is called in the pyramid and later texts Sekhet-Aaru,[7] which was situated in the

[1. Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

2. The legend reads "This is Nut, she receiveth Ra."

3. ###.

4. *Wörterbuch*, p. 1622.

5. Lanzone, *Domicile des Esprits*, p. 1; *Dizionario*, p. 1292.

6. Maspero, *La Mythologie Égyptienne* (*Études*, I. ii., p. 207); Jéquier, *Le Livre*, p. 3 The eastern mountain peak was called Bakhatet, and the western Manu.

7. *I.e.*, the Field of reed plants.]

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Sekhet-Hetep,[1] and was supposed to lie to the north of Egypt. Here dwell Horus and Set, for the fields of Aaru and Hetep are their domains,[2] and here enters the deceased with two of the children of Horus on one side of him, and two on the other,[3] and the "two great chiefs who preside over the throne of the great god proclaim eternal life and power for him."[4] Here like the supreme God he is declared to be "one," and the four children of Horus proclaim his name to Ra. Having gone to the north of the Aaru Field he makes his way to the eastern portion of the *tuat*, where according to one legend he becomes like the morning star, near[6] his sister Sothis.[7] Here he lived in the form of the star Sothis, and "the great and little companies of the gods purify him in the Great Bear." The Egyptian theologians, who conceived that a ladder was necessary to enable the soul to ascend to the next world, provided it also with an address which it was to utter when it reached the top. As given in the pyramid of Unas it reads as follows':--"Hail to thee, O daughter of Amenta, mistress of Peteru(?) of heaven, thou gift of Thoth, thou mistress of the two sides of the ladder, open a way to Unas, let Unas pass. Hail to thee, O Nau, who art [seated] upon the brink of the Lake of Kha, open thou a way to Unas, let Unas pass. Hail to thee, O thou bull of four horns, thou who hast one horn to the west, and one to the

east, and one to the north, and one to the south, ... let Unas pass, for he is a being from the purified Amenta, who goeth forth from the country of Baqta. Hail to thee, O Sekhet-Hetep, hail to thee, and to the fields which are in thee, the fields of Unas are in thee, for pure offerings are in thee."

[1. *I.e.*, the Field of Peace.

2. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 191 (l. 182).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 50 (l. 262).

4. *Ibid.*, t. vii., p. 163 (1. 402).

5. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 49. (l. 432).

6. *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 186 (ll. 80, 170, 177).

7. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 55 (l. 475).

8. *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 68 (l. 567).

9 *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 69 (l. 576 ff.).]

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Power of the gods of Annu.

The souls of the dead could also be commended to the care of the gods above by the gods of Annu, and thus we find it said in the pyramid of Unas: "O gods of the west, O gods of the east, O gods of the south, O gods of the north, ye four [orders of gods] who embrace the four holy ends of the universe, and who granted to Osiris to come forth to heaven, and to sail over the celestial

waters thereof with his son Horus by his side to protect him and to make him to rise like a great god from the celestial deep, say ye to Unas, 'Behold Horus, the son of Osiris, behold Unas, the god of the aged gods, the son of Hathor, behold the seed of Seb, for Osiris hath commanded that Unas shall rise like the second of Horus, and the four *khu's* who are in Annu have written this command to the great gods who are in the celestial waters.'"[1] And again, "When men are buried and receive their thousands of cakes and thousands of vases of ale upon the table of him that ruleth in Amenta, that being is in sore straits who hath not a written decree: now the decree of Unas is under the greatest, and not under the little seal."[2]

The plan of the Sekhet-Hetep which we find in the Book of the Dead during the Theban period will be described below, and it is therefore sufficient to say here that the ideas of the happy life which the deceased led had their origin in the pyramid texts, as may be seen from the following passage:--"Unas hath offered incense unto the great and little companies of the gods, and his mouth is pure, and the tongue which is therein is pure. O ye judges, ye have taken Unas unto yourselves, let him eat that which ye eat, let him drink that which ye drink, let him live upon that which ye live upon, let your seat be his seat, let his power be your

power, let the boat wherein he shall sail be your boat, let him net birds in Aaru, let him possess running streams in Sekhet-Hetep, and may he obtain his meat and his drink from you, O ye gods. May the water of Unas be of the wine which is of Ra, may he revolve in the sky like Ra, and may he pass over the sky like Thoth."[3]

Of the condition of those who failed to secure a life of beatitude with the gods in the Sekhet-Aaru of the Tuat, the pyramid texts say nothing, and it seems as if the doctrine of punishment of the wicked and of the judgment which took place after death is a development characteristic of a later period.

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 69 (ll. 572-75).

2 *Ibid.*, t. iv., p. 71 (l. 583).

3 *Ibid.*, t. iii. (l. 191-95).]

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THE GODS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

The following are the principal gods and goddesses mentioned in the pyramid texts and in the later versions of the Book of the Dead:--

Nu represents the primeval watery mass from which all the gods were evolved, and upon which floats the bark of "millions of years"

containing the sun. This god's chief titles are " Father of the gods," and begetter of the great company of the gods,". He is depicted in the form of a seated deity having upon his head disk and plumes.[1]

Nut the female principle of Nu; she is depicted with the head of a snake surmounted by a disk, or with the head of a cat.[2]

Ptah was associated with the god Khnemu in carrying out at the Creation the mandates of Thoth the divine intelligence; his name means the "opener," and he was identified by the Greeks with {Greek *H!'faistos*}, and by the Latins with Vulcan.

He was worshipped at a very early date in Memphis, which is called in Egyptian texts "The House of the Ka of Ptah,", and according to Herodotus his temple there was founded by Mena or Menes.[3] He is called the "exceedingly great god, the beginning of being," "the father of fathers and power of powers," and "he created his form,

[1. Lanzone, *Dizionario*, tav. 166, No. 2. For fuller descriptions of the gods and their titles and attributes see Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884-88; Pierret, *Le Panthéon Égyptien*, Paris, 1881; Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, Münster, 1890; Strauss and Corney, *Der altaegyptische Götterglaube*, Heidelberg, 1889. For illustrations of the various forms in which the gods are depicted, see the *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, Turin, 1881 (not yet complete).

2. Lanzone, op. cit., tavv. 168-71.

3. {Greek *Tou^to de` tou^ H!fai'stou to` i!drusasðai e`n au?th^*} (ii., 99).]

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and gave birth to his body, and established unending and unvarying right and truth upon the earth." As a solar god he is called "Ptah, the Disk of heaven, who illumineth the world by the fire of his eyes,"; and in the Book of the Dead he is said to have "opened" the mouth of the deceased with the tool with which he opened the mouths of the gods.[1] He is depicted in the form of a mummy standing upon *maat* and in his hands he holds a sceptre on the top of which are the emblems of power, life, and stability; from the back of his neck hangs the *menat* (see p. 1, note 2).[2] Ptah formed at Memphis the chief member of the triadPtah-Sekhet and Nefer-Tmu.

In many texts the god Ptah is often joined to the god Seker whose individual attributes it is not easy to describe; Seker is the Egyptian name of the incarnation of the Apis bull at Memphis. That Seker was a solar god is quite clear, but whether he "closed" the day or the night is not certain. Originally his festival was celebrated in the evening, wherefrom it appears that he represented some form of the night sun; but in later times the ceremony of drawing the image of the god Seker in the *hennu* boat

round the sanctuary was performed in the morning at dawn, and thus, united with Ptah, he became the closer of the night and the opener of the day. He is depicted as a mummied body with the head of a hawk, and he sometimes holds in his hands emblems of power, sovereignty, and rule.[3]

Another form of Ptah was Ptah-Seker-Ausar wherein the creator of the world, the sun, and Osiris as the god of the dead, were represented. A large number of *faïence* figures of this triune god are found in graves, and specimens exist in all museums. He is represented as a dwarf standing upon a crocodile, and having a scarabæus upon his head; the scarab is the emblem of the new life into which the deceased is about to break, the crocodile is the emblem of the darkness of death which has been overcome. According to some the element of Ptah in the triad is the personification of the period of incubation which follows

[1. ###. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 34, ll. 4, 5.

2. Lanzone: *op. cit.*, tavv. 87-91.

3. Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 368.]

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death and precedes the entry into eternal life, and the symbols with which he is accompanied explain the character attributed to this god.[1]

The god Ptah is also united with the gods Hapi, Nu and Tanen when he represents various phases of primeval matter.

Khnemu worked with Ptah in carrying out the work of creation ordered by Thoth, and is therefore one of the oldest divinities of Egypt; his name means, "to mould," "to model." His connexion with the primeval water caused him to be regarded as the chief god of the inundation and lord of the cataract at Elephantine. He dwelt in Annu, but he was lord of Elephantine, and "the builder of men, the maker of the gods, and the father from the beginning."

Elsewhere he is said to be

ari enti-s qemam unenet sa xeperu tef

Maker of things which are, creator of what shall be, the beginning of beings, father

tefu ma ma

of fathers, and mother of mothers.

He supported the heaven upon its four pillars in the beginning, and earth, air, sea, and sky are his handiwork. He is depicted in the form of a man having a ram's head and horns surmounted by plumes, uræi with disks, *etc.*; in one hand be holds the sceptre and in the other the emblem of life. Occasionally he is hawk-headed, and in one representation he holds the emblem of water, in each hand. On a late bas-relief at Philæ we find him seated at a potter's table upon which stands a human being whom he has just fashioned.[2]

Khepera was a form of the rising sun, and was both a type of matter which is on the point of passing from inertness into life, and also of the dead body which is about to burst forth into a new life in a glorified form. He is depicted in the form of a man having a beetle for a head, and this insect was his type and emblem among ancient nations, because it was believed to be self-begotten and self-produced; to this notion we owe the myriads of beetles or

[1. Lanzone, op. cit., p. 244.

2. Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 336, No. 3.]

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scarabs which are found in tombs of all ages in Egypt, and also in the Greek islands and settlements in the Mediterranean, and

in Ph涤icia, Syria, and elsewhere. The seat of the god Khepera was in the boat of the sun, and the pictures which present us with this fact[1] only illustrate an idea which is as old, at least, as the pyramid of Unas, for in this monument it is said of the king:-

ap-f em apt xenen-f em xeper em nest sut

He flieth like a bird, he alighteth like a beetle upon the empty throne

amt uaa-k Ra[2]

in thy boat, O Ra.

In the XVIIIth dynasty Queen Hatshepset declared herself to be "the creator of things which came into being like Khepera",[3] and in later times the scribes were exceedingly fond of playing upon the word used as a noun, adjective, verb and proper name.[4]

Tum or Atemu *i.e.*, "the closer," was the great god of Annu, and the head of the great company of the gods of that place. It would seem that he usurped the position of Ra in Egyptian mythology, or at any rate that the priests of Annu succeeded in causing their local god, either separately or joined with Ra, to be accepted

as the leader of the divine group. He represented the evening or night sun, and as such he is called in the XVth chapter of the Book of the Dead "divine god," "self-created," "maker of the gods," "creator of men," who stretched out the heavens," "the lightener of the *tuat* with his two eyes," etc.'

[1. Lanzone, op. cit., tav. 330.

2. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 57 (1. 477).

3 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii., BL 22.

4 Compare ###. Maspero, *Mémoires de la Mission*, t. i., p. 595; and in the account of the Creation found in B.M. papyrus No. 10,188, Col. xxvi., ###.

5. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 19, 20.]

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The "cool breezes of the north wind," for which every dead man prayed, were supposed to proceed from him. He is, as M. Lefébure has pointed out, always depicted in the form of a man; he wears the crowns and holds both the sceptre and emblem of life On a mummy case at Turin he is depicted in the boat of the Sun, in company with the god Khepera; between them are the beetle and sun's disk In later times the Egyptians called the feminine form of Tmu Temt.[2]

Ra was the name given to the sun by the Egyptians in a remote antiquity, but the meaning of the word, or the attribute which they ascribed to the sun by it, is unknown. Ra was the invisible emblem of God, and was regarded as the god of this earth, to whom offerings and sacrifices were made daily; and when he appeared above the horizon at the creation, time began. In the pyramid texts the soul of the deceased makes its way to where Ra is in heaven, and Ra is entreated to give it a place in the "bark of millions of years" wherein he sails over the sky. The Egyptians attributed to the sun a morning and an evening boat, and in these the god sat accompanied by Khepera and Tmu, his own forms in the morning and evening respectively. In his daily course he vanquished night and darkness, and mist and cloud disappeared from before his rays; subsequently the Egyptians invented the moral conception of the sun, representing the victory of right over wrong and of truth over falsehood. From a natural point of view the sun was synonymous with movement, and hence typified the life of man; and the setting of the one typified the death of the other. Usually Ra is depicted in human form, sometimes with the head of a hawk, and sometimes without[3], As early as the time of the pyramid texts we find Ra united with Tmu to form the chief god of Annu, and at the same period a female counterpart Rat was assigned to him.[4]

Shu, the second member of the company of the gods of Annu, was the firstborn son of Ra, Ra-Tmu, or Tum, by the goddess Hathor, the sky, and was the twin brother of Tefnut. He typified the light, he lifted up the sky, Nut, from the earth, Seb, and placed it upon the steps which were in Khemennu.

[1. See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 398.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1255-

3. *Ibid.*, tav. 78.

4. Pyramid of Unas, l. 253.]

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He is usually depicted in the form of a man, who wears upon his head a feather or feathers and holds in his hand the sceptre. At other times he appears in the form of a man with upraised arms; on his head he has the emblem ###, and he is often accompanied by the four pillars of heaven, *i.e.*, the cardinal points.[1] Among the many *faïence* amulets which are found in tombs are two which have reference to Shu: the little models of steps typify the steps upon which Shu rested the sky in Khemennu; and the crouching figure of a god supporting the sun's disk symbolizes his act of raising the sun's disk into the space between sky and earth at the time when he separated Nut from Seb.

Tefnut, the third member of the company of the gods of Annu, was the daughter of Ra, Ra-Tmu, or Tmu, and twin-sister of Shu; she represented in one form moisture, and in another aspect she seems to personify the power of sunlight. She is depicted in the form of a woman, usually with the head of a lioness surmounted by a disk or *uræus*, or both;[2] in *faïence*, however, the twin brother and sister have each a lion's head. In the pyramid texts they play a curious part, Shu being supposed to carry away hunger from the deceased, and Tefnut his thirst.[3]

Seb or Qeb, the fourth member of the company of the gods of Annu, was the son of Shu, husband of Nut, and by her father of Osiris, Isis, Set, and Nephthys. Originally he was the god of the earth, and is called both the father of the gods, and the "*erpa* (*i.e.*, the tribal, hereditary head) of the gods." He is depicted in human form, sometimes with a crown upon his head and sceptre I in his right hand; and sometimes he has upon his head a goose,[4] which bird was sacred to him. In many places he is called the "great cackler" and he was supposed to have laid the egg from which the world sprang. Already in the pyramid texts he has become a god of the dead by virtue of representing the earth wherein the deceased was laid.

[1. See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 385.

2. See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 395.

3. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 10 (l. 61).

4 See Lanzone *op. cit.* tav 346.]

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Ausar or Osiris, the sixth member of the company of the gods of Annu, was the son of Seb and Nut, and the husband of his sister Isis, the father of "Horus, the son of Isis," and the brother of Set and Nephthys. The version of his sufferings and death by Plutarch has been already described (see p. xlviii.). Whatever may have been the foundation of the legend, it is pretty certain that his character as a god of the dead was well defined long before the versions of the pyramid texts known to us were written, and the only important change which took place in the views of the Egyptians concerning him in later days was the ascription to him of the attributes which in the early dynasties were regarded as belonging only to Ra or to Ra-Tmu. Originally Osiris was a form of the sun-god, and, speaking generally, he may be said to have represented the sun after he had set, and as such was the emblem of the motionless dead; later texts identify him with the moon. The Egyptians asserted that he was the father of the gods who had given him birth, and, as he was the god both of yesterday and of to-day, he became the type of eternal existence and the symbol

of immortality; as such he usurped not only the attributes of Ra, but those of every other god, and at length he was both the god of the dead and the god of the living. As judge of the dead he was believed to exercise functions similar to those attributed to God. Alone among all the many gods of Egypt, Osiris was chosen as the type of what the deceased hoped to become when, his body having been mummified in the prescribed way, and ceremonies proper to the occasion having been performed and the prayers said, his glorified body should enter into his presence in heaven; to him as "lord of eternity," by which title as judge of the dead he was commonly addressed, the deceased appealed to make his flesh to germinate and to save his body from decay.[1] The various forms in which Osiris is depicted are too numerous to be described here, but generally speaking he is represented in the form of a mummy wearing a crown and holding in his hands the emblems of sovereignty and power. A very complete series of illustrations of the forms of Osiris is given by Lanzone in his*Dizionario*, tavv. 258-299. The ceremonies connected with the celebration of the events of the sufferings, the death and the resurrection of Osiris occupied a very prominent part in the religious observances of the Egyptians, and it seems as if in the month of Choiak a representation of

[1. Compare ###. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 179.]

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them took place in various temples in Egypt; the text of a minute description of them has been published by M. Loret in *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. iii., p. 43 ff, and succeeding volumes. A perusal of this work explains the signification of many of the ceremonies connected with the burial of the dead, the use of amulets, and certain parts of the funeral ritual; and the work in this form being of a late date proves that the doctrine of immortality, gained through the god who was "lord of the heavens and of the earth, of the underworld and of the waters, of the mountains, and of all which the sun goeth round in his course,"[1] had remained unchanged for at least four thousand years of its existence.

Auset or Isis, the seventh member of the company of the gods of Annu, was the wife of Osiris and the mother of Horus; her woes have been described both by Egyptian and Greek writers.[2] Her commonest names are "the great goddess, the divine mother, the mistress of charms or enchantments"; in later times she is called the "mother of the gods," and the "living one." She is usually depicted in the form of a woman, with a head-dress in the shape of a seat, the hieroglyphic for which forms her name. The animal

sacred to her was the cow, hence she sometimes wears upon her head the horns of that animal accompanied by plumes and feathers. In one aspect she is identified with the goddess Selk or Serq, and she then has upon her head a scorpion, the emblem of that goddess;[3] in another aspect she is united to the star Sothis, and then a star is added to her crown. She is, however, most commonly represented as the mother suckling her child Horus, and figures of her in this aspect, in bronze and *faïence*, exist in thousands. As a nature goddess she is seen standing in the boat of the sun, and she was probably the deity of the dawn.

Heru or Horus, the sun-god, was originally a totally distinct god from Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, but from the earliest times it seems that the two gods were confounded, and that the attributes of the one were ascribed to the other; the fight which Horus the sun-god waged against night and darkness was also at a very early period identified with the combat between Horus, the son of

[1. ###.

2. Chabas, *Un Hymne à Osiris* (in *Revue Archéologique*, t. xiv., p. 65 ff.); Horrack, *Les Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys*, Paris, 1866; The Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys (in*Archæologia*, vol. lii., London, 1891), *etc.*

3 See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 306 ff.]

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Isis, and his brother Set. The visible emblem of the sun-god was at a very early date the hawk is, which was probably the first living thing worshipped by the early Egyptians; already in the pyramid texts the hawk on a standard is used indiscriminately with ### to represent the word "god." The principal forms of Horus the sun-god, which probably represent the sun at various periods of the day and night, are:--Heru-ur ({Greek *A?rwh`rei*), "Horus the Great"; Heru-merti, "Horus of the two eyes," *i.e.*, of the sun and moon;[1] Heru-nub, "the golden Horus"; Heru-khent-khat; Heru-khent-an-maa, "Horus dwelling in blindness"; Heru-khuti, "Horus of the two horizons,"[2] the type of which on earth was the Sphinx; Heru-sam-taui, "Horus the uniter of the north and south"; Heru-hekenu, " Horus of Heken"; and Heru-behutet, "Horus of Behutet."[3] The cippi of Horus, which became so common at a late period in Egypt, seem to unite the idea of the physical and moral conceptions of Horus the sun-god and of Horus the son of Osiris and Isis.

Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, appears in Egyptian texts usually as Heru-p-khart, " Horus the child," who afterwards became the "avenger of his father Osiris," and occupied his throne, as we are told in many places in the Book of the Dead. In the pyramid texts the deceased is identified with Heru-p-khart, and a

reference is made to the fact that the god is always represented with a finger in his mouth.[4] The curious legend which Plutarch relates concerning Harpocrates and the cause of his lameness' is probably

[1. A very interesting figure of this god represents him holding his eyes in his hands; see Lanzone, *op. cit.*, p. 618.

2 *I.e.*, Horus between the mountains of Bekhatet and Manu, the most easterly and westerly points of the sun's course, and the places where he rose and set.

3. For figures of these various forms of Horus, see Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 214 ff.

4. ###. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. v., p. 44 (l. 301).

5. {Greek *Th`n d? I?^sin meta` th`n teleuth`n e!ks O?si'ridos suggenome'nou, tekei^n h?lito'mhnou, kai` a?ðenh^ toi^s ka'twðen gyi'ois to`n A!rpokra'thn*.} *De Iside et Osiride*, � xix.]

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based upon the passage in the history of Osiris and Isis given in a hymn to Osiris of the XVIIIth dynasty.[1]

Set or Sutekh the eighth member of the company of the gods of Annu, was the son of Seb and Nut, and the husband of his sister Nephthys. The worship of this god is exceedingly old, and in the pyramid texts we find that be is often mentioned with Horus and the other gods of the Heliopolitan company in terms of reverence. He was also believed to perform friendly offices for the deceased, and

to be a god of the Sekhet-Aaru, or abode of the blessed dead. He is usually depicted in human form with the head of an animal which has not yet been identified; in later times the head of the ass was confounded with it, but the figures of the god in bronze which are preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere prove beyond a doubt that the head of Set is that of an animal unknown to us. In the early dynasties he was a beneficent god, and one whose favour was sought after by the living and by the dead, and so late as the XIXth dynasty kings delighted to call themselves "beloved of Set." About the XXIInd dynasty, however, it became the fashion to regard the god as the origin of all evil, and his statues and images were so effectually destroyed that only a few which escaped by accident have come down to us. Originally Set, or Sut, represented the natural night and was the opposite of Horus;[2] that Horus and Set were opposite aspects or forms of the same god is proved by the figure given by Lanzone (*Dizionario*, tav. 37, No. 2), where we see the head of Set and the head of Horus upon one body. The natural opposition of the day and night was at an early period confounded with the battle which took place between Horus, the son of Isis, and Set, wherein Isis intervened, and it seems that the moral idea of the battle of right against wrong[3]

became attached to the latter combat, which was undertaken by Horus to avenge his father's murder by Set.

Nebt-het or Nephthys the last member of the company of the gods of Annu, was the daughter of Seb and Nut, the sister of Osiris and Isis, and the

[1. ###. Ledrain, *Monuments Égyptiens*, pl. XXV., ll. 2, 3.

2. In the pyramid of Unas, l. 190, they are called the ### or "two combatants "; and see pyramid of Teta, l. 69, where we have the spelling ###.

3. On the personification of evil by Set, see Wiedemann, *Die Religion*, p. 117.]

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sister and wife of Set. When the sun rose at the creation out of the primeval waters, Nephthys occupied a place in his boat with Isis and other deities; as a nature goddess she either represents the day before sunrise or after sunset, but no portion of the night. She is depicted in the form of a woman, having upon her head the hieroglyphics which form her name, "lady of the house". A legend preserved by Plutarch[1] makes her the mother of Anpu or Anubis by Osiris. In Egyptian texts Anpu is called the son of Ra.[2] In religious texts Nephthys is made to be the companion of Isis in

all her troubles, and her grief for her brother's death is as great as that of his wife.

Anpu, or Anubis, the son of Osiris or Ra, sometimes by Isis and sometimes by Nephthys, seems to represent as a nature god either the darkest part of the twilight or the earliest dawn. He is depicted either in human form with a jackal's head, or as a jackal. In the legend of Osiris and Isis, Anubis played a prominent part in connexion with the dead body of Osiris, and in papyri we see him standing as a guard and protector of the deceased lying upon the bier; in the judgment scene he is found as the guard of the balance, the pointer of which he watches with great diligence. He became the recognized god of the sepulchral chamber, and eventually presided over the whole of the "funeral Mountain." He is always regarded as the messenger of Osiris.

Another form of Anubis was the god Ap-uat, the ### of the pyramid texts,[3] or "Opener of the ways," who also was depicted in the form of a jackal; and the two gods are often confounded. On sepulchral stelæ and other monuments two jackals are frequently depicted; one of these represents Anubis, and the other Ap-uat, and they probably have some connexion with the northern and southern parts of the funereal world. According to M. Maspero,

the god Anubis led the souls of the dead to the Elysian Fields in the Great Oasis.[4]

Among the primeval gods are two, Hu and Saa who are seen in the boat of the sun at the creation. They are the children of Tmu or Tmu-Ra, but the exact part which they play as nature gods has not yet, it seems, been satisfactorily made out. The first mention of them in the pyramid texts records their subjugation by the deceased,[5] but in the Theban Book of the Dead

[1. *De Iside et Osiride*, � 14.

2. See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

3 *Pyramid of Unas*, l. 187.

4 See *Le Nom antique de la Grande-Oasis* (in *Journal Asiatique*, IX[e] Série, to i., pp. 233-40).

6 ###. Pyramid of Unas, l. 439.]

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they appear among the company of the gods who are present when the soul of the deceased is being weighed in the balance.

Tehuti or Thoth represented the divine intelligence which at creation uttered the words that were carried into effect by Ptah and Khnemu. He was self produced, and was the great god of the earth, air, sea and sky; and he united in himself the attributes

of many gods. He was the scribe of the gods, and, as such, he was regarded as the inventor of all the arts and sciences known to the Egyptians; some of his titles are "lord of writing," "master of papyrus," "maker of the palette and the ink-jar," "the mighty speaker," "the sweet tongued"; and the words and compositions which he recited on behalf of the deceased preserved the latter from the influence of hostile powers and made him invincible in the "other world." He was the god of right and truth, wherein he lived, and whereby he established the world and all that is in it. As the chronologer of heaven and earth, he became the god of the moon; and as the reckoner of time, he obtained his name *Tehuti*, *i.e.*, "the measurer"; in these capacities he had the power to grant life for millions of years to the deceased. When the great combat took place between Horus, the son of Isis, and Set, Thoth was present as judge, and he gave to Isis the cow's head in the place of her own which was cut off by Horus in his rage at her interference; having reference to this fact he is called Ap-rehui, "The judge of the two combatants." One of the Egyptian names for the ibis was *Tekh*, and the similarity of the sound of this word to that of Tehu, the name of the moon as a measurer of time, probably led the Egyptians to depict the god in the form of an ibis, notwithstanding the fact that the dog-headed ape was

generally considered to be the animal sacred to him. It has been thought that there were two gods called Thoth, one being a form of Shu; but the attributes belonging to each have not yet been satisfactorily defined. In the monuments and papyri Thoth appears in the form of a man with the head of an ibis, which is sometimes surmounted by the crown ###, or ###, or ###, or by disk and horns ###, or ###, and he holds in his left hand the sceptre ### and in the right {the ankh} ###; sometimes he is depicted holding his ink-jar and the crescent moon, and sometimes he appears in the form of an ape holding a palette full of writing-reeds.' Thoth is mentioned in the pyramid texts[2] as the brother of Osiris, but whether he is the

[1. See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 304, No. 1.

2. *Pyramid of Unas*, l. 236.]

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same Thoth who is called the "Lord of Khemennu" and the "Scribe of the gods" is doubtful.

Maat, the wife of Thoth, was the daughter of Ra, and a very ancient goddess; she seems to have assisted Ptah and Khnemu in carrying out rightly the work of creation ordered by Thoth. There is no one word which will exactly describe the Egyptian conception of

Maat both from a physical and from a moral point of view; but the fundamental idea of the word is "straight," and from the Egyptian texts it is clear that *maat* meant right, true, truth, real, genuine, upright, righteous, just, steadfast, unalterable, etc. Thus already in the Prisse papyrus it is said, "Great is *maat*, the mighty and unalterable, and it hath never been broken since the time of Osiris,"[1] and Ptah-hetep counsels his listener to "make *maat*, or right and truth, to germinate."[2] The just, upright, and straight man is *maat* and in a book of moral precepts it is said, "God will judge the right (*maa*)[3] ###[4]. Maat, the goddess of the unalterable laws of heaven, and the daughter of Ra, is depicted in female form, with the feather emblematic of *maat*, on her head, or with the feather alone for a head, and the sceptre in one hand, and {an ankh} in the other.[5] In the judgment scene two Maat goddesses appear; one probably is the personification of physical law, and the other of moral rectitude.

Het-heru, or Hathor the "house of Horus," was the goddess of the sky wherein Horus the sun-god rose and set. Subsequently a great number of goddesses of the same name were developed from her, and these were identified with Isis, Neith, Iusaset, and many other goddesses whose attributes they absorbed. A group of seven Hathors is also mentioned, and these appear to have partaken of the nature

of good fairies. In one form Hathor was the goddess of love, beauty,

[1. Page 17, 1. 5, ###.

2 Page 18, l. 1, ###.

3. Amélineau, *la Morale*, p. 138.

4. The various meanings of *maat* are illustrated by abundant passages from Egyptian texts by Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* (Suppl.), p. 329.

5. See Lanzone, op. cit. tav. 109.]

happiness; and the Greeks identified her with their own Aphrodite. She is often depicted in the form of a woman having disk and horns upon her head, and at times she has the head of a lion surmounted by a uræus. Often she has the form of a cow--the animal sacred to her--and in this form she appears as the goddess of the tomb or Ta-sertet, and she provides meat and drink for the deceased.[1]

Meht-urt is the personification of that part of the sky wherein the sun rises, and also of that part of it in which he takes his daily course; she is depicted in the form of a cow, along the body of which the two barks of the sun are seen sailing. Already in the pyramid texts we find the attribute of judge ascribed to Meh-urt,[2] and down to a very late date the judgment of the deceased in the hall of double Maat in the presence of Thoth and

the other gods was believed to take place in the abode of Meh-urt.[3]

Net or Neith, "the divine mother, the lady of heaven, the mistress of the gods," was one of the most ancient deities of Egypt, and in the pyramid texts she appears as the mother of Sebek.[4] Like Meh-urt she personifies the place in the sky where the sun rises. In one form she was the goddess of the loom and shuttle, and also of the chase; in this aspect she was identified by the Greeks with Athene. She is depicted in the form of a woman, having upon her head the shuttle or arrows, or she wears the crown and holds arrows, a bow, and a sceptre in her left hand; she also appears in the form of a cow.[5]

Sekhet was in Memphis the wife of Ptah, and the mother of Nefer-Tmu and of I-em-hetep. She was the personification of the burning heat of the sun, and as such was the destroyer of the enemies of Ra and Osiris. When Ra determined to punish mankind with death, because they scoffed at him, he sent Sekhet, his "eye," to perform the work of vengeance; illustrative of this aspect of her is a figure wherein she is depicted with the sun's eye for a head.[5] Usually

[1. A good set of illustrations of this goddess will be found in Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 314 f.

2. ###. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 48 (l. 427).

3. Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts* (Chapp. 162, 162,* 163), p. 26.

4. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iv., p. 76 (l. 627).

5. See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 177.

6. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, tav. 364.]

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she has the head of a lion surmounted by the sun's disk, round which is a uræus; and she generally holds a sceptre, but sometimes a knife.

Bast, according to one legend, was the mother of Nefer-Tmu. She was the personification of the gentle and fructifying heat of the sun, as opposed to that personified by Sekhet. The cat was sacred to Bast, and the goddess is usually depicted cat-headed. The most famous seat of her worship was the city of Bubastis, the modern Tell Basta, in the Delta.

Nefer-Tmu was the son either of Sekhet or Bast, and he personified some form of the sun's heat. He is usually depicted in the form of a man, with a cluster of lotus flowers upon his head, but sometimes he has the head of a lion; in the little *faïence* figures of him which are so common, he stands upon the back of a lion.[1]

He no doubt represents the sun-god in the legend which made him to burst forth from a lotus, for in the pyramid of Unas the king is said to

xaa em, Nefer-Tmu em sessen er sert Ra

Rise like Nefer-Tmu from the lotus (lily) to the nostrils of Ra,"

and to "come forth on the horizon every day."[2]

Neheb-ka is the name of a goddess who is usually represented with the head of a serpent, and with whom the deceased identifies himself.

Sebak a form of Horus the sun-god, must be distinguished from Sebak the companion of Set, the opponent of Osiris; of each of these gods the crocodile was the sacred animal, and for this reason probably the gods themselves were confounded. Sebak-Ra, the lord of Ombos, is usually depicted in human form with the head of a crocodile, surmounted by ###, ###, or ###, or ###.[3]

Amsu or Amsi is one of the most ancient gods of Egypt. He personified the power of generation, or the reproductive force of nature; he was the "father of his own mother," and was

identified with "Horus the mighty," or with Horus the avenger of his father Un-nefer or Osiris. The Greeks identified

[1. See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 147.

2 *Recueil de Travaux*, iv., t. p. 45 (I. 394).

3. Ibid., *op. cit.*, tav. 353.

4 Also read Min and Khem.]

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him with the god Pan, and called the chief city where his worship was celebrated Khenimis,[I] after one of his names. He is depicted usually in the form of a man standing upon; and he has upon his head the plumes and holds the flail in his right hand, which is raised above his shoulder.[2]

Neb-er-tcher, a name which originally implied the "god of the universe," but which was subsequently given to Osiris, and indicated the god after the completed reconstruction of his body, which had been hacked to pieces by Set.

Un-nefer a name of Osiris in his capacity of god and judge of the dead in the underworld. Some make these words to mean the "good being," and others the "beautiful hare."

Astennu a name given to the god Thoth.

Mert or Mer-sekert the lover of silence," is a name of Isis or Hathor as goddess of the underworld. She is depicted in the form of a woman, having a disk and horns upon her head.[3]

Serq or Selk is a form of the goddess Isis. She is usually depicted in the form of a woman, with a scorpion upon her head; occasionally she appears as a scorpion with a woman's head surmounted by disk and horns.[4]

Ta-urt, the Thoueris of the Greeks, was identified as the wife of Set or Typhon; she is also known under the names Apt and Sheput. Her common titles are "mistress of the gods and "bearer of the gods". She is depicted in the form of a hippopotamus standing on her hind legs, with distended paunch and hanging breasts, and one of her forefeet rests upon ###; sometimes she has the head of a woman, but she always wears the disk, horns, and plumes[4].

Uatchit was a form of Hathor, and was identified with the appearance of the sky in the north when the sun rose. She is either depicted in the form of a woman, having upon her head the crown of the north and a sceptre, around which a serpent is twined, or as a winged uræus wearing the crown of the north.

[1. In Egyptian the town is called Apu.

2. See Lanzone, *op. cit.*, tav. 332.

3. *Ibid.*, tav 124.

4. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, tav. 362.]

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Beb, Bebti, Baba, or Babu, mentioned three times in the Book of the Dead, is the "firstborn son of Osiris," and seems to be one of the gods of generation.

Hapi is the name of the great god of the Nile who was worshipped in Egypt under two forms, *i.e.*, "Hapi of the South," and "Hapi of the North,"; the papyrus was the emblem of the one, and the lotus of the other. From the earliest times the Nile was regarded by the Egyptians as the source of all the prosperity of Egypt, and it was honoured as being the type of the life-giving waters out of the midst of which sprang the gods and all created things. In turn it was identified with all the gods of Egypt, new or old, and its influence was so great upon the minds of the Egyptians that from the earliest days they depicted to themselves a material heaven wherein the Isles of the Blest were laved by the waters of the Nile, and the approach to which was by the way of its stream as it flowed to the north. Others again lived in imagination on the banks of the heavenly Nile, whereon they built cities; and it seems as if the Egyptians never succeeded in conceiving a heaven

without a Nile and canals. The Nile is depicted in the form of a man, who wears upon his head a clump of papyrus or lotus flowers; his breasts are those of a woman, indicating fertility. Lanzone reproduces an interesting scene[1] in which the north and south Nile gods are tying a papyrus and a lotus stalk around the emblem of union to indicate the unity of Upper and Lower Egypt, and this emblem is found cut upon the thrones of the kings of Egypt to indicate their sovereignty over the regions traversed by the South and North Niles. It has already been said that Hapi was identified with all the gods in turn, and it follows as a matter of course that the attributes of each were ascribed to him; in one respect, however he is different from them all, for of him it is written

an mehu en aner tut her uah set sexet aarat

He cannot be sculptured in stone; in the images on which men place crowns and uræi

an qemuh entuf an baka an xerpu tuf an

he is not made manifest; service cannot be rendered nor offerings made to him; not

[1. *Dizionario*, tav. 198.]

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seset-tu em setau an rex-tu bu entuf an

can he be drawn from [his] mystery; not can be known the place where he is; not

qem tephet anu.

is he found in the painted shrine.[1]

Here the scribe gave to the Nile the attributes of the great and unknown God its Maker.

In the pyramid texts we find a group of four gods with whom the deceased is closely connected in the "other world"; these are the four "children of Horus" whose names are given in the following order:--Hapi, Tua-mautef, Amset and Qebhsennuf.[2] The deceased is called their "father."[3] His two arms were identified with Hapi and Tuamautef, and his two legs with Amset and Qebhsennuf;[4] and when he entered into the Sekhet-Aaru they accompanied him as guides, and went in with him two on each side.[5] They took away all hunger and thirst from him,[6] they gave him life in heaven and protected it when given,[7] and they brought to him from the Lake of Khemta the boat of the Eye of Khnemu.[8] In one passage

they are called the "four *Khu*'s of Horus",[9] and originally they represented the four pillars which supported the sky or Horus. Each was supposed to be lord of one of the quarters of the world, and finally became the god of one of the cardinal points. Hapi represented the north, Tuamautef the east, Amset the south, and Qebhsennuf the west. In the XVIIIth dynasty the Egyptians originated the custom of embalming the intestines of the

[1. For the hieratic text from which this extract is taken see Birch, *Select Papyri*, pll. 20 ff. and 134 ff. see also Maspero, *Hymne au Nil, publié et traduit d'après les deux textes A Musée Britannique*, Paris, 1868. 4to.

2 Pyramid of Unas, l. 219; Pyramid of Teta, ll. 60, 286; Pyramid of Pepi I., ll. 444, 593, *etc.*

3. Pyramid of Pepi I., l. 593.

4. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. 905 (l. 219 f.).

5. *Ibid.*, t. vii., p. 150 (ll. 261-63).

6 *Ibid.*, t. v., p. 10 (ll. 59 ff.).

7. ###. *Ibid.*, t. viii., p. 91 (l. 593).

8. *Ibid.*, t. vii., p. 167 (l. 444).

9. *Ibid.*, t. vii., p. 150 (l. 261).]

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body separately, and they placed them in four jars, each of which was devoted to the protection of one of the children of Horus, *i.e.*, to the care of one of the gods of the four cardinal points.

The god of the north protected the small visceræ, the god of the east the heart and lungs, the god of the south the stomach and large intestines, and the god of the west the liver and gall-bladder. With these four gods four goddesses were associated, viz., Nephthys, Neith, Isis, and Selk or Serq.

Connected with the god Horus are a number of mythological beings called Heru shesu[1] (or *shemsu*, as some read it), who appear already in the pyramid of Unas in connection with Horus and Set in the ceremony of purifying and "opening the mouth"; and in the pyramid of Pepi I. it is they who wash the king and who recite for him the "Chapter of those who come forth," and the "[Chapter of] those who ascend."[2]

In the judgment scene in the Book of the Dead, grouped round the pan of the balance which contains the heart of the deceased (see Plate III.), are three beings in human form, who bear the names Shai, Renenet, and Meskhenet.

Shai is the personification of destiny, and Renenet fortune; these names are usually found coupled. Shai and Renenet are said to be in the hands of Thoth, the divine intelligence of the gods; and Rameses II. boasts that he himself is "lord of Shai and creator of Renenet."[3] Shai was originally the deity who "decreed" what

should happen to a man, and Renenet, as may be seen from the pyramid texts,[4] was the goddess of plenty, good fortune, and the like; subsequently no distinction was made between these deities and the abstract ideas which they represented. In the papyrus of Ani, Shai stands by himself near the pillar of the Balance, and Renenet is accompanied by Meskhenet, who appears to be the personification of all the conceptions underlying Shai and Renenet and something else besides. In the story of the children of Ra, as related in the Westcar papyrus, we find the goddess Meskhenet mentioned with Isis, Nephthys, Heqet, and the god Khnemu as assisting at the birth of children.

[1. *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. 182 (l. 17).

2. ###, *etc. Ibid.*, t. vii., p. 170 (l. 463).

3. See Maspero, *Romans et Poésies du Papyrus Harris*, No. 500, Paris, 1879, p. 27.

4 Pyramid of Unas, l. 564.]

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Disguised in female forms, the four goddesses go to the house of Ra-user, and, professing to have a knowledge of the art of midwifery, they are admitted to the chamber where the child is about to be born; Isis stands before the woman, Nephthys behind her, and Heqet accelerates the birth. When the child is born

Meskhenet comes and looking upon him says, "A king; he shall rule throughout this land. May Khnemu give health and strength to his body."[1] The word *meskhenet* is as old as the pyramid times, and seems then to have had the meaning of luck, destiny, *etc.*[2]

The god Amen, his wife Mut and their associate Khonsu have nothing whatever to do with the Book of the Dead; but Amen, the first member of this great Theban triad, must be mentioned with the other gods, because he was usually identified with one or more of them. The name Amen means the "hidden one," and the founding of the first shrine of the god recorded in history took place at Thebes during the XIIth dynasty; from that time until the close of the XVIIth dynasty, Amen was the chief god of Thebes and nothing more. When, however, the last kings of the XVIIth dynasty had succeeded in expelling the so-called Hyksos and had delivered the country from the yoke of the foreigner, their god assumed an importance hitherto unknown, and his priests endeavoured to make his worship the first in the land. But Amen was never regarded throughout the entire country as its chief god, although his votaries called him the king of the gods. The conception which the Thebans had of their god as a god of the underworld was modified when they identified him with Ra and called him "Amen-Ra"; and, speaking generally, in the time of the XVIIIth dynasty and onwards the god became the

personification of the mysterious creating and sustaining power of the universe, which in a material form was typified by the sun. By degrees all the attributes of the old gods of Egypt were ascribed to him, and the titles which among western nations are given to God were added to those pantheistic epithets which Amen had usurped. The following extracts from a fine hymn[3] will set forth the views of the priesthood of Amen-Ra concerning their god.

[1. Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, Berlin, 1890, Bl. 10, 11. 13, 14.

2. Compare ###, "the night of thy birth, and the day of thy *meskhenet*"; see *Recueil de Travaux*, t. vii., p. 161 (l. 397).

3 See Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra*, Paris, 1874; and Wiedemann, *Die Religion*, p. 64 ff.]

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"Adoration to thee, O Amen-Ra, the bull in Annu, the ruler of all the gods, the beautiful and beloved god who givest life by means of every kind of food and fine cattle.

"Hail to thee, O Amen-Ra, lord of the world's throne, thou dweller in Thebes, thou bull of thy mother that livest in thy field, that extendest thy journeys in the land of the south, thou lord of those who dwell in the west, thou governor of Punt, thou king of heaven and sovereign of the earth, thou lord of things that exist, thou stablisher of creation, thou supporter of the universe. Thou art

one in thine attributes among the gods, thou beautiful bull of the company of the gods, thou chief of all the gods, lord of *Maat*, father of the gods, creator of men, maker of beasts and cattle, lord of all that existeth, maker of the staff of life, creator of the herbs which give life to beasts and cattle . . . . Thou art the creator of things celestial and terrestrial, thou illuminest the universe . . . . The gods cast themselves at thy feet when they perceive thee . . . . . Hymns of praise to thee, O father of the gods, who hast spread out the heavens and laid down the earth . . . . . thou master of eternity and of everlastingness. . . . . Hail to thee, O Ra, lord of *Maat*, thou who -art hidden in thy shrine, lord of the gods. Thou art Khepera in thy bark, and when thou sendest forth the word the gods come into being. Thou art Tmu, the maker of beings which have reason, and, however many be their forms, thou givest them life, and thou dost distinguish the shape and stature of each from his neighbour. Thou hearest the prayer of the afflicted, and thou art gracious unto him that crieth unto thee; thou deliverest the feeble one from the oppressor, and thou judgest between the strong and the weak . . . . . The Nile riseth at thy will. . . . Thou only form, the maker of all that is, One only, the creator of all that shall be. Mankind hath come forth from thine eyes, the gods

have come into being at thy word, thou makest the herbs for the use of beasts and cattle, and the staff of life for the need of man. Thou givest life to the fish of the stream and to the fowl of the air, and breath unto the germ in the egg; thou givest life unto the grasshopper, and thou makest to live the wild fowl and things that creep and things that fly and everything that belongeth thereunto. Thou providest food for the rats in the holes and for the birds that sit among the branches . . . . . . thou One, thou only One whose arms are many. All men and all creatures adore thee, and praises come unto thee from the height of heaven, from earth's widest space, and from the deepest depths of the sea . . . . thou One, thou only One who hast no second . . . . . .whose names are manifold and innumerable."

We have seen above[1] that among other titles the god Amen was called the "only One", but the addition of the words "who hast no second" is remarkable as showing that the Egyptians had already conceived the existence of a god who had no like or equal, which they hesitated not to proclaim side by side with their descriptions of his manifestations. Looking at the Egyptian words in their simple meaning, it is pretty certain that when the Egyptians declared that

[1. See above, p. xcv.]

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their god was One and that he had no second, they had the same ideas as the Jews and Muhammadans when they proclaimed their God to be "One"[1] and alone. It has been urged that the Egyptians never advanced to pure monotheism because they never succeeded in freeing themselves from the belief in the existence of other gods, but when they say that a god has "no second," even though they mention other "gods," it is quite evident that like the Jews, they conceived him to be an entirely different being from the existences which, for the want of a better word, or because these possessed superhuman attributes, they named "gods."

The powers of darkness or evil.

The gods above enumerated represent the powers who were the guides and protectors and givers of life and happiness to the deceased in the new life, but from the earliest times it is clear that the Egyptians imagined the existence of other powers who offered opposition to the dead, and who are called in many places his "enemies." Like so many of the ancient gods, these powers were originally certain forces of nature, which were believed to be opposed to those which were regarded as beneficient to man, as for example darkness to light, and night to day; with darkness

and night were also associated the powers which contributed in any way to obscure the light of the sun or to prevent his shining. But since the deceased was identified with Horus, or Ra, and his accompanying gods, the enemies of the one became the enemies of the other, and the welfare of the one was the welfare of the other. When the Egyptians personified the beneficent powers of nature, that is say, their gods, they usually gave to them human forms and conceived them in their own images; but when they personified the opposing powers they gave to them the shapes of noxious animals and reptiles, such as snakes and scorpions. As time went on, the moral ideas of good and right were attributed to the former, and evil and wickedness to the latter. The first personifications of light and darkness were Horus and Set, and in the combat--the prototype of the subsequent legends of Marduk and Tiamat, Bel and the Dragon, St. George and the Dragon, and many others--which took place between them, the former was always the victor. But, though the deceased was identified with Horus or Ra, the victory which the god gained over Set only benefited the spiritual body which dwelt in heaven, and did not preserve the natural body which lay in the tomb. The principal enemy of the natural body was the worm, and from the earliest times it seems that a huge worm or serpent

was chosen by the Egyptians as the type of the powers which were hostile to the dead and also of

[1. ###, Deut. vi., 4. Compare ###, Deut. iv., 35; and ###, Isaiah xlv., 5.]

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the foe against whom the Sun-god fought. Already in the pyramid of Unas a long section of the text contains nothing but formulæ, the recital of which was intended to protect the deceased from various kinds of snakes and worms.[1] These are exceedingly ancient, indeed, they may safely be said to form one of the oldest parts of the funeral literature of the Egyptians, and we find from the later editions of the Book of the Dead and certain Coptic works that the dread of the serpent as the emblem of physical and moral evil existed among the Egyptians in all generations, and that, as will be seen later, the belief in a limbo filled with snakes swayed their minds long after they had been converted to Christianity.

The charms against serpents in the pyramid texts of the Vth and VIth dynasties have their equivalents in the XXXIst and XXXIIIrd Chapters of the Book of the Dead, which are found on coffins of the XIth and XIIth dynasties;[2] and in the XVIIIth dynasty we find vignettes in which the deceased is depicted in the act of

spearing a crocodile[3] and of slaughtering serpents.[4] In the Theban and Saïte versions are several small chapters[5] the recital of which drove away reptiles; and of these the most important is the XXXIXth Chapter, which preserved the deceased from the attack of the great serpent Apef or Apep, who is depicted with knives stuck in his folds.[7] In the period of the later dynasties a service was performed daily in th temple of Amen-Ra at Thebes to deliver the Sun-god from the assault of this fiend and on each occasion it was accompanied by a ceremony in which a waxen figure of Apep was burnt in the fire; as the wax melted, so the power of Apep was destroyed. Another name of Apep was Nak, who was pierced by the lance of th eye of Horus and made to vomit what he had swallowed.[9]

The Devourer of the Dead

The judgment scene in the Theban edition of the Book of the Dead reveal the belief in the existence of a tri-formed monster, part crocodile, part lion, and

[1. Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. 220.

2. Goodwin, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 54; see also Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, Bl. 35, l. 1 ff.

3. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 44.

4. *Ibid.*, Bd. I., Bl. 46.

5. *I.e.*, chapp. 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, etc.

6. For the text see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 53; and Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Bl. 18.

7. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 121.

8. The service for the *Overthrowing of Apepi* is printed in *Archæologia*, vol. lii., pp. 393-608.

9. ###. Grébaut, Hymne, p. 10.]

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part hippopotamus, whom the Egyptians called Am-mit, *i.e.*, "the eater of the Dead," and who lived in Amenta; her place is by the side of the scales wherein the heart is weighed, and it is clear that such hearts as failed to balance the feather of Maat were devoured by her. In one papyrus she is depicted crouching by the side of a lake.[1] Other types of evil were the insect Apshai,[2]confounded in later times with the tortoise[3], which dies as Ra lives;[4] the crocodile Sebak, who afterwards became identified with Ra; the hippopotamus, the ass, *etc*.

The devils of the underworld.

The pyramid texts afford scanty information about the fiends and devils with which the later Egyptians peopled certain parts of the Tuat, wherein the night sun pursued his course, and where the souls of the dead dwelt; for this we must turn to the composition

entitled the " Book of what is in the Tuat," several copies of which have come down to us inscribed upon tombs, coffins, and papyri of the XVIIIth and following dynasties. The Tuat was divided into twelve parts, corresponding to the twelve hours of the night; and this Book professed to afford to the deceased the means whereby he might pass through them successfully. In one of these divisions, which was under the rule of the god Seker, the entrance was guarded by a serpent on four legs with a human head, and within were a serpent with three heads, scorpions,[5] vipers, and winged monsters of terrifying aspect; a vast desert place was their abode, and seemingly the darkness was so thick there that it might be felt. In other divisions we find serpents spitting fire, lions, crocodile-headed gods, a serpent that devours the dead, a huge crocodile, and many other reptiles of divers shapes and forms.

From the descriptions which accompany the scenes, it is evident that the Tuat was regarded by the Egyptians of the XVIIIth dynasty from a moral as well as from a physical point of view.[6] Apep, the emblem of evil, was here punished and overcome, and here dwelt the souls of the wicked and the righteous, who received their punishments or rewards, meted out to them by the decree of Ra and his company of gods. The chief instruments of punishment employed

by the gods were fire and beasts which devoured the souls and bodies of the enemies

[1. See below, p. 258.

2. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 49.

3. Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Bl. 17.

4. ###. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 184.

5. See Maspero, *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes*, p. 76.

6. See Lefébure, *Book of Hades* (*Records of the Past*, vol. x., p. 84).]

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Traditions about hell preserved in Coptic times.

of Ra; and we may see from the literature of the Copts, or Egyptians who had embraced Christianity, how long the belief in a hell of fire and torturing fiends survived. Thus in the Life of Abba Shenuti,[1] a man is told that the " executioners of Amenti will not show compassion upon thy wretched sol,"[2] and in the history of Pisentios, a Bishop of Coptos in the seventh century of our era, we have a series of details which reflect the Tuat of the ancient Egyptians in a remarkable manner. The bishop having taken up his abode in a tomb filled with mummies, causes one of them to tell his history.[3] After saying that his parents were Greeks who worshipped Poseidon, he states that when he was dying already the avenging angels came about him with iron knives and goads as

sharp as spears, which they thrust into his sides, while they gnashed their teeth at him; when he opened his eyes, he saw death in all its manifold forms round about him; and at that moment angels without mercy came and dragged his wretched soul from his body, and tying it to the form of a black horse they bore it away to Amenta. Next, he was delivered over to merciless tormentors, who tortured him in a place where there were multitudes of savage beasts; and, when he had been cast into the place of outer darkness, he saw a ditch more than two hundred feet deep filled with reptiles, each of which had seven heads, and all their bodies were covered as it were with scorpions. Here also were serpents, the very sight of which terrified the beholder, and to one of them which had teeth like iron stakes was the wretched man given to be devoured; for five days in each week the serpent crushed him with his teeth, but on the Saturday and Sunday there was respite. Another picture of the torments of Hades is given in the Martyrdom of Macarius of Antioch, wherein the saint, having restored to life a man who had been dead six hours, learned that when he was about to die he was surrounded by fiends, some of whom had the faces of dragons, others of lions, others of crocodiles, and others of bears. They tore his soul from his body with great violence, and they fled with it over a mighty river of fire, in which they plunged it to

a depth of four hundred cubits; then they took it out and set it before the judge of Truth. After hearing the sentence of the judge the fiends took it to a place of outer darkness where no

[1. See Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'Histoire de Égypte Chrétienne*, p. 167.

2 ###.

3 See Amélineau, *Étude sur le Christianisme en Égypte au Septième Siècle*, Paris, 1887, p. 147.]

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light came, and they cast it into the cold where there was gnashing of teeth. There it beheld a snake which never slept, with a head like that of a crocodile, and which was surrounded by reptiles which cast souls before it to be devoured, when the snake's mouth was full it allowed the other reptiles to eat, and though they rent the soul in pieces it did not die. After this the soul was carried into Amenta for ever. The martyr Macarius suffered in the reign of Diocletian, and the MS. from which the above extract is taken was copied in the year of the Martyrs 634 = A.D. 918. Thus, the old heathen ideas of the Egyptian Tuat were applied to the construction of the Coptic Hell.

[1. See Hyvernat, *les Actes des Martyrs de Égypte*, Paris, 1886, pp. 56, 57.]

THE PRINCIPAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL PLACES IN THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

Abtu, the Abydos of the Greeks (Strabo, XVII., i., 42), the capital of the eighth nome of Upper Egypt. It was the seat of the worship of Osiris, and from this fact was called Per-Ausar or Busiris, "the house of Osiris "; the Copts gave it the name ###.[1] Egyptian tradition made the sun to end his daily course at Abydos, and to enter into the Tuat at this place through a "gap" in the mountains called in Egyptian *peq*.[2] These mountains lay near to the town; and in the XIIth dynasty it was believed that the souls of the dead made their way into the other world by the valley which led through them to the great Oasis, where some placed the Elysian Fields.[3]

Amenta or Amentet, or was originally the place where the sun set, but subsequently the name was applied to the cemeteries and tombs which were usually built or hewn in the stony plateaus and mountains on the western bank of the Nile. Some believe that Amenta was, at first, the name of a small district, without either funereal or mythological signification. The Christian Egyptians or Copts used the word Amend to translate the Greek word Hades,

to which they attributed all the ideas which their heathen ancestors had associated with the Amenta of the Book of the Dead.

Annu, the Heliopolis of the Greeks (Herodotus, II., 3, 7, 8, 9, 59, 93; Strabo, XVII., I, 27 ff), and the capital of the thirteenth nome of Lower Egypt.

[1. See Amélineau, *la Géographie de l'Égypte, à l'Époque Copte*, p. 155.

2. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 227.

3. See Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, t. i., p. 345.]

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The Hebrews called it On (Genesis xli., 45, 50; xlvi., 20), Aven (Ezekiel xxx., 17), and Bêth-Shemesh (Jeremiah xliii., 13); this last name is an exact translation of the Egyptian *per Ra*, "house of the sun," which was also a designation of Annu. The Copts have preserved the oldest name of the city under the form ###.[1] A Coptic bishop of this place was present at the Council of Ephesus. The city of Annu seems to have become associated with the worship of the sun in prehistoric times. Already in the Vth dynasty its priesthood had succeeded in gaining supremacy for their religious views and beliefs throughout Egypt, and from first to last it maintained its position as the chief seat of theological learning in Egypt. The body of the Aged One, a name of Osiris, reposed in

Annu, and there dwelt the Eye of Osiris. The deceased made his way to Annu, where souls were joined unto bodies in thousands, and where the blessed dead lived on celestial food for ever.

An-rutf or Naarutf, is a section or door of the Tuat which lies to the north of Re-stau; the meaning of the word is "it never sprouteth."

An-tes(?) (see within, p. 323), an unknown locality where a light tower (?), was adored.

Apu, the Panopolis of the Greeks ({Greek *Panw^n po'lis*}, Strabo, XVII., i., 41), the metropolis of the ninth nome of Upper Egypt, and the seat of the worship of the god ###, whose name is variously read Amsu, Khem, and Min. In ancient days it was famous as the centre for stone cutting and linen weaving, and the latter industry still survives among the modern Coptic population, who, following their ancestors, call their city ###, which the Arabs have rendered by Akhmîm.

Aqert, a common name for the abode of the dead.

Bast, more fully Pa-Bast or Per-Bast, the Bubastis of the Greek writers (Herodotus, II., 59, 137, 156, 166; Strabo, XVII., 1, 27), the metropolis of the eighteenth nome of Lower Egypt, and the seat

of the worship of Bast, a goddess who was identified with the soul of Isis, *ba en Auset*. The city is mentioned in the Bible under the form ### (Ezekiel xxx., 17), Pi-beseth,

[1. See Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 287.]

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which the Copts have preserved in their name for the city, ###; the Arabs call the place Tell Basta.

Het-benbent, the name given to many sun-shrines in Egypt, and also to one of the places in the other world where the deceased dwelt.

Het-Ptah-ka, the sacred name of the city of Memphis, the metropolis of the first nome of Lower Egypt; it means the "House of the ka of Ptah," and was probably in use in the period of the Ist dynasty. Other names for Memphis were Aneb-het'et, "the city of the white wall", Men-nefer and Kha-nefert.

Kem-ur a name given to the district of the fourth and fifth nomes of Upper Egypt.

Khemennu, *i.e.*, the city of the eight great cosmic gods, the Hermopolis of the Greek writers ({Greek *E?'rmopolitikh` fulakh`*}, Strabo, XVII., I, 41), and the metropolis of the fifteenth nome

of Upper Egypt. The old Egyptian name for the city is preserved in its Coptic and Arabic names, ### and Eshmûnên.

Kher-aba, a very ancient city which was situated on the right bank of the Nile, a little to the south of Annu, near the site of which the "Babylon of Egypt"[1] (the {Greek *Babulw'n, frou'rion e?rumno'n*} of Strabo, XVII., I, 30), was built.

Manu is the name given to the region where the sun sets, which was believed to be exactly opposite to the district of Bekha, where he rose in the east; Manu is a synonym of west, just as Bekha is a synonym of east.[2]

Nekhen, the name of the shrine of the goddess Nekhebet, which is supposed to have been near to Nekheb, the capital of the third nome of Upper Egypt and the Eileithyiapolis of the Greeks.

Neter-khertet, a common name for the abode of the dead; it means the "divine subterranean place."

[1. See Amélineau, op. cit., p. 75.

2 See Brugsch, Diet. Géog., pp. 199, 260; Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, t. i., p. 332; and *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1864, pp. 73-76.]

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Pe, a district of the town of Per-Uatchet, the Buto of the Greeks ({Greek *Bou^tos*}, Strabo, XVII., i., 18), which was situated in the Delta.

Punt, the tropical district which lay to the south and east of Egypt, and which included probably a part of the Arabian peninsula and the eastern coast of Africa along and south of Somali land.

Re-stau, or a name given to the passages in the tomb which lead from this to the other world; originally it designated the cemetery of Abydos only, and its god was Osiris.

Sa, the Saïs of the Greeks ({Greek *Sa'ïs*}, Strabo, XVII. i., 23), the metropolis of the fifth nome of Lower Egypt, and the seat of the worship of the goddess Neith.

Sekhem, the Letopolis of the Greeks, and capital of the Letopolites nome (Strabo, XVII., i., 30); it was the seat of the worship of Heru-ur, "Horus the elder," and one of the most important religious centres in Egypt.

Sekhet-Aanru, the "Field of the *Aanru* plants," was a name originally given to the islands in the Delta where the souls of the dead were supposed to live. Here was the abode of the god Osiris, who bestowed estates in it upon those who had been his followers,

and here the beatified dead led a new existence and regaled themselves upon food of every kind, which was given to them in abundance. According to the vignette of the CXth Chapter of the Book of the Dead, the Sekhet-Aanru is the third division of the Sekhet-hetepu, or "Fields of Peace," which have been compared with the Elysian Fields of the Greeks.

Set Amentet, *i.e.*, "the mountain of the underworld," a common name of the cemetery, which was usually situated in the mountains or desert on the western bank of the Nile.

Suten-henen, more correctly Henen-su, the metropolis of the twentieth nome of Upper Egypt, called by the Greeks Heracleopolis Magna (Strabo, XVII., i., 35). The Hebrews mention the city (###, Isaiah xxx., 4) Hanes as the representative of Upper Egypt, and in Coptic times it was still of considerable size and importance; the Copts and Arabs have preserved the ancient name of the city under the forms ### and ###. *Ahnas*.

Tanenet, a district sacred to the gods Osiris and Ptah; it was probably situated near Memphis.

Ta-sert, or Ta-tchesertet, a common name for the tomb.

Tep, a district of the town Per-Uatchet, the Buto of the Greeks (Strabo, XVII., i., 18), which was situated in the Delta.

Tettet, a name given both to the metropolis[1] of the ninth nome and to the chief city[2] of the sixteenth nome of Lower Egypt.

Tuat, a common name for the abode of the departed.

[1. *I.e.*, Pa-Aushr, or Per-Aushr, the Busiris of the Greeks.

2. *I.e.*, Ba-neb-Tettet, the Mendes of the Greeks.]

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

In illustration of the ceremonies which accompanied the burial of the dead the reader will find extracts from different texts printed in the *Appendix* on p. 264 ff. To these may be added an extract from the curious ritual which was in vogue in the Vth and VIth dynasties, and which commemorated the ceremonies which were performed for the god Osiris. It is to be noticed how closely the deceased is identified with Osiris, the type of incorruptibility. Osiris takes upon himself "all that is hateful" in the dead : that is, he adopts the burden of his sins; and the dead is purified by the typical sprinkling of water. While the gods are only accompanied by their *ka*'s, the deceased, in right of his

identification with a higher power, is accompanied by his Tet[1] also, that is, by his Osiris.

Throughout the ceremony, the Eye of Horus,[2] which is represented by various substances, plays a prominent part, for it is that which gives vigour to the heart of the dead and leads him to the god. That portion of the ceremony which was believed to procure the unlocking of the jaws and the opening of the mouth of the deceased, or of the statue which sometimes represented him, was performed after the purification by water and incense had been effected; and hereby was he enabled to partake of the meat and drink offerings, wherein the friends and relatives also participated, in order that they might cement and seal their mystic unity with the dead and with the god with whom he was identified.[3]

[1. Some fifty years ago, M. Reuvens expressed his belief that the ### represented the four quarters of the world, and according to M. Maspero it unites in itself the four pillars which support the sky and Osiris, whom they preserve from chaos; see *Recueil de Travaux*, t. xii., p. 79, note 3; and *Études de Mythologie*, t. ii., p. 359.

2. On the eyes of Horus, see Lefébure, *Le Mythe Osirien--Les Yeux d'Horus*, Paris, 1874; and Grébaut, *Les deux yeux du Disque Solaire* (*Recueil de Travaux* t. i., pp. 72, 87, 112-131).

3. To discuss the origin and development of animal sacrifice among the early Egyptians lies outside the scope of this work. For information on the significance of sacrifice among the Semites, in whose customs many originally Egyptian ideas probably survived, see Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 294 ff. On the origin of sacrificial acts, see Max Müller,*Natural Religion*, London, 1889, p. 184; and E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., p. 340. Whether the Egyptians regarded the

sacrifice of bulls, geese, etc., at the tomb as expiatory offerings, can hardly yet be decided.]

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Certain formulae were directed to be repeated four times: a direction which takes us back to the time when the Egyptians first divided the world into four parts, each corresponding to one of the four pillars which held up the sky, that is to say, to one of the four cardinal points, East, South, West, and North, presided over by a special god. The deceased sought to obtain the assistance of each of the four gods of the cardinal points, and to have the right to roam about in his district; hence the formula was repeated four times. Originally four animals or four geese were sacrificed, one to each god, but subsequently East and North, and West and South were paired, and two bulls (or birds) only were sacrificed, one of which was called the Bull of the North,[*] and the other the Bull of the South. The custom of four-fold repetition continued to the Ptolemaïc times[+] and even later.

The priest whose official title was *kher heb*, recited the prayers, and the *sem* or *setem* priest presented the prescribed offerings. The rubrical directions are given on the margin for the sake of clearness.

"O Osiris,[++] all that is hateful in Unas hath been brought unto thee,[1] and all the evil words which have been spoken in his name. Come, O Thoth, and take them unto Osiris, bring all the evil words which have been spoken and place them in the hollow of thy hand;[2] thou shalt not escape therefrom, thou shalt not escape therefrom. Whosoever marcheth, marcheth with his *ka*. Horus marcheth with his *ka*, Set marcheth with his *ka*, Thoth marcheth with[3] his *ka*, Sep marcheth with his *ka*, Osiris marcheth with his *ka*, Khent-maati marcheth with his *ka*; and thy *tet* shall march with thy *ka*. Hail, Unas, the hand of thy *ka* is before thee. Hail, Unas, the hand of thy *ka* is behind thee. Hail, Unas, the leg of thy *ka* is before thee. Hail, Unas, the leg of thy *ka* is behind thee. Osiris Unas, I have given unto thee the Eye of Horus, and thy face is filled therewith, and the perfume thereof spreadeth over thee. The libations which are poured[4] out by thy son, which are poured out by Horus, are for thee, O Osiris, and they are for thee O Unas. I have come, and I have brought unto thee the Eye of Horus that thou mayest refresh thy heart therewith, I have placed it beneath thy feet, and I give unto thee whatsoever hath come forth from thy body that thy heart may not cease to beat through [the want] thereof.[5] Thy voice shall never depart from thee, thy voice shall never depart from thee.

[*. This subject has been lucidly discussed by Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, t. xii., pp. 78, 79.

+. See *Archæologia*, vol. lii., p. 453, at the foot.

++. For the text and French translation, see Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii., p. 179 ff.

1. Here water shall be sprinkled.

2. Repeat four times.

3. Repeat four times and burn incense.

4. Here [pour out] fresh water, and [burn] two portions of incense.

5. Repeat four times.]

"[Here is] unguent, [here is] unguent. Open thy mouth, O Unas,[1] and taste the taste of the scent which is in the holy habitations. This scent is that which distilleth from Horus, this scent is that which distilleth from Set, and it is that which stablisheth the hearts of the two Horus gods.[2] Thou purifiest thyself with the Heru-shesu;[*] thou art purified with natron, and Horus is purified with natron; thou art purified with natron, and Set is purified with natron;[3] thou art purified with natron, and Thoth is purified with natron; thou art purified with natron, and Sep is purified with natron; thou art purified with natron, and art established among them, and thy mouth is [as pure] as the mouth of a sucking calf on the day of its birth. Thou art purified with

natron, and Horus is purified with natron; thou art purified with natron, and Set is purified with natron;[4] [thou art purified with natron] and Thoth is purified with natron; thou art purified with natron, and Sep is purified with natron; thy *ka* is purified with natron, and thou art pure, thou art pure, thou art pure, thou art pure. Thou art stablished among the gods thy brethren, thy head is purified for thee with natron, thy bones are washed clean with water, and thou thyself art made perfect with all that belongeth unto thee. O Osiris, I have given unto thee the Eye of Horus, thy face is filled therewith, and the perfume thereof spreadeth over thee.

"Hail, Unas, thy two jaws are unlocked.[5] Hail, Unas, the two gods have opened thy mouth.[6] O Unas, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, and Horus cometh thereunto; it is brought unto thee, and placed in thy mouth.[7] Hail, Unas, the nipples of the bosom of Horus have been given unto thee, and thou hast taken in thy mouth[8] the breast of thy sister Isis, and the milk which floweth from thy mother is poured into thy mouth.[9]

"Thou hast gotten possession of the two eyes of Horus, the white and the black, thou hast taken them unto thyself and they illumine thy face.[10] The day hath made an offering unto thee in heaven,

and the East and the West are at peace with thee; the night hath made an offering[11] unto thee, and the North and the South are at peace with thee. These are the offerings which are brought unto thee, the offerings which thou seest, the offerings which thou hearest, the offerings which are before thee, the offerings which are behind thee, the offerings which are with thee. O Osiris Unas, the white teeth of Horus are given unto thee that thou mayest fill thy mouth therewith.[12] A royal offering to the *ka* of Unas.[13]. O Osiris Unas, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, and thou livest, and a thou art.[14] O Osiris Unas, the Eye of Horus which strove with Set hath been

[*. ###, the followers of Horus"

[Addressing the statue of the decease the *setem* priest says]

1. Here [offer] perfume of the south, three grains.

2. Repeat four times.

3. Here [offer] natron of the north.

4 Here [burn] one grain of incense.

5. Here [bring] the *Pesesh-kef*.

6. Here [offer] two pieces of iron of the north and south.

7. Here [offer] unguent of the north, and unguent of the south.

8. Here [offer] milk.

9. Here [offer] two vases of milk.

10. Here bring two black and white pitchers.

11. Here [offer] a cake.

12. Here [offer] two baskets of onions.

13. Repeat four times.

14. Here [offer] a cake.]

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given unto thee, and thou hast lifted it[1] to thy lips, and thy mouth is opened thereby. O Osiris Unas, thy mouth is opened by that with which thou art filled.[2] O Osiris Unas, that which hath distilled from thee hath been given unto thee.[3] O Ra, may all the praise which thou receivest in heaven be in praise of Unas, and may all that belongeth unto thy body belong unto the *ka* of Unas, and may all that belongeth unto his body belong unto thee.[4] O Unas, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, that thou mayest be able to taste,[5] and that thou mayest illumine the night. O Unas, the Eye of Horus hath been given to thee that it may embrace thee.[6] O Unas, the Eye of Horus which strove with Set hath been, given unto thee, in order that the opening of thy mouth may be caused thereby.[7] O Unas, that which flowed from Osiris hath been given unto thee.[8] O Unas, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, in order that without the help of iron thy mouth may be set free.[9] O Unas, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, in

order that thy face may be adorned therewith.[10] O Osiris Unas, the Eye of Horus hath sprinkled oil upon thee.[11] O Osiris Unas, that which hath been pressed out of thy face hath been given unto thee.[12] O Osiris Unas, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, in order that it may shave (?) thee.[13] O Osiris Unas, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, in order that it may anoint thee.[14] O Osiris Unas, the Eye of Horus hath been given unto thee, in order that it may lead thee unto the gods.[15] O all ye unguents, be ye laid out before your Horus,[16] and make ye him strong. Cause him to gain the mastery over his body, and make his eyes to be opened. May all the shining beings see him, may they hear his name, for the Eye of Horus hath been brought, in order that it may be placed before Osiris Unas.[17] O Osiris Unas, the two Eyes of Horus have been laid like paint upon thy face.[18]

"O clothe thyself in peace! Put thou on thy apparel in peace! May Tatet put on[19] apparel in peace! Hail, Eye of Horus, in Tep, in peace! Hail, Eye of Horus, in the houses of Nit, in peace. Receive thou white apparel. O grant that the two lands which rejoiced to do homage unto Horus may do homage unto Set; and grant that the two lands which stood in awe of Set may stand in awe of Unas. Dwell thou with Unas as his god, open thou a path for him among the, shining ones, and stablish thou him among them."

[1. Here [offer] two pitchers of white wine.

2. Here [offer] two pitchers of black wine.

3. Here [offer] a vase of black beer.

4. Here [offer] an altar.

5. Here [offer] a cake.

6. Here [offer] a breast.

7. Here [offer] a pitcher of white wine.

8. Here [offer] a vase of black beer.

9. Here [offer] a vase of beer of iron

10. Here [offer] a vase of beer.

11. Repeat four times and [offer] unguent of the festival.

12. Here [offer] *heken* oil.

13. Here [offer] a pitcher of *seft*.

14. Here [offer] *nish-nem* oil.

15. Here [offer] a pitcher of *tuat*.

16. Here [offer] *ash* unguent.

17. Here [offer] unguent.

18. Here [offer] stibium and copper.

19. Here bring two garments.]

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THE PAPYRUS OF ANI.

General Description

The papyrus of Ani, was found at Thebes, and was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1888. It measures 78 feet by 1 foot 3 inches, and is the longest known papyrus of the Theban period.[1] It is made up of six distinct lengths of papyrus, which vary in length from 26 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 7 inches. The material is composed of three layers of papyrus supplied by plants which measured in the stalks about 41 inches in diameter. The several lengths have been joined together with great neatness, and the repairs and insertion of new pieces (see plates 25, 26) have been dexterously made. When first found, the papyrus was of a light colour, similar to that of the papyrus of Hunefer (B. M. No. 9901), but it became darker after it had been unrolled, and certain sections of it have shrunk somewhat.

It contains a number of chapters of the Book of the Dead, nearly all of which are accompanied by vignettes; and at top and bottom is a border of two colours-red and yellow.[2] At the beginning and end of the papyrus spaces of six and eleven inches respectively have been left blank. The inscribed portion is complete, and the loss of the few characters which were damaged in unrolling[3] does not interrupt the text. It was written by three or more scribes; but the uniformity of the execution of the vignettes suggests that fewer artists were employed on the illustrations. The titles of

the chapters, rubrics, catchwords, etc., are in red. In some instances the artist has occupied so much space that the

[1 The papyrus of Nebseni, of the XVIIIth dynasty (B.M., No. 9900), measures 76 feet 81 inches by 13 inches; and the papyrus of Hunefer, of the XIXth dynasty (B.M., No. 9601), 18 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 3 5/8 inches; the Leyden papyrus of Qenna, of the XVIIIth dynasty, measures about 50 feet; and the Dublin papyrus (*Da* of M. Naville's edition), XVIIIth dynasty, 24 feet 9 inches.

2 In some sections the border is painted yellow and orange.

3 See plates 1, 15, 24.]

General description.

scribe has been obliged to crowd the text (*e.g.*, in plate 11) and at times he has written it on the border (see plates 14, 17). This proves that the vignettes were drawn before the text was written.

All the different sections of the papyrus were not originally written for Ani, for his name has been added in several places' by a later hand. As however such additions do not occur in the first section, which measures 16 feet 4 inches in length, it must be concluded that that section was written expressly for him, and that the others were some of those ready-written copies in which blank spaces were left for the insertion of the names of the deceased persons for whom they were purchased. The scribe who filled in Ani's name in these spaces wrote hurriedly, for in

Chapter XXXB., line 2 (pl. 15), he left himself no space to write the word "Osiris" in the phrase, "Ani victorious before Osiris" (compare pl. 1, line 5); in Chapter XLIII., lines 1, 2 (pl. 17), he has written it twice; in Chapter IX., l. 1 (pl. 18), he has omitted the determinative in Chapter XV., line 2 (pl. 20) he meant to write "Ani, victorious in peace (pl. 19), but wrote "Ani in triumph" in Chapter CXXV., line 18 (pl. 30), the word ### is written twice, probably, however, with the view of filling up the line; in Chapter CLI. (Pl. 34) the name is written crookedly, and the determinative is omitted; and in Chapters XVIII. (Introduction, pl. 12) and CXXXIV. (pl. 22). the scribe has, in two spaces, omitted to write the name. It seems tolerably certain that all the sections of the papyrus were written about the same time, and that they are the work of scribes of the same school; the variations in the depth of the space occupied by the text and the difference in the colours of the border only show that even the best scribes did not tie themselves to any one plan or method in preparing a copy of the Book of the Dead. The text has many serious errors: by some extraordinary oversight it includes two copies of the XVIII th Chapter, one with an unusual introduction and the other without introduction; and a large section of the XVIIth Chapter, one of the most important in the whole work, has

been entirely omitted. Such mistakes and omissions, however, occur in papyri older than that of Ani, for in the papyrus of Nebseni (B.M., No. 9900), which was written at Memphis early in the XVIIIth dynasty, of Chapters L., LVI., LXIV., CLXXX., two copies each, of

[1. See Chapter XXVI, l. 1 (pl. 15); Chapter XLV., l. 1 (pl. 16); Chapter IX, 1. 6 (pl. 18); Chapter CXXXIV., 1. 15 (pl. 22); Chapter LXXVIII., l. 1 (p. 25); Chap. LXXX., l. 1 (pl. 28); Chapter CLXXXV., l. 15 (pl. 36).]

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Chapters C. and CVI., three copies, and of Chapter XVII. two extracts are given in different parts of the papyrus.[1]

Ani's rank.

The papyrus of Ani is undated, and no facts are given in it concerning the life of Ani, whereby it would be possible to fix its exact place in the series of the illustrated papyri of the Theban period to which it belongs. His full titles are:--

suten in maa an hesb hetep neter en neteru nebu

Royal scribe veritable, scribe and accountant of the divine offerings (*i.e.*, revenues) of all the gods.

mer tenti en nebu Abtu an hetep neter en

The governor of the granary of the lords of Abydos, scribe of the divine offerings (i.e., revenues) of

nebu Uast.

the lords of Thebes;

and he is said to be "beloved of the lord of the North and South" and to "love him". The name of the king thus referred to cannot be stated. That Ani's rank of "royal scribe" [2] was not titular only is shown by the addition of the word "veritable," and his office of scribe and accountant of all the gods was probably one of the highest which a scribe could hold.[3] His other offices of "governor of the granary of the lords of Abydos," and "scribe of the sacred property of the lords of Thebes," further prove his rank and importance, for Abydos and Thebes were the most ancient and sacred cities of Egypt.

Ani's wife.

Ani's wife Thuthu is described as "the lady of the house, the *qematet* of Amen".[4] What the title "lady of the house

[1. Naville, *Einleitung*, pp. 48-54.

2. See Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 223.

3. In the list of the high officers of the priesthood given by Brugsch (*Aegyptologie*, p. 218), we meet with an official whose title is ###, "the

scribe set over the sacred property of the gods"; Ani held a similar appointment.

4 Plate 19; her name is nowhere else mentioned in the papyrus.]

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means has not yet been decided, but *qemat* is the title applied to the noble ladies who sang or played on an instrument in the temple of a god.[1] The lady Thuthu belonged to the number of the priestesses of the god Amen-Ra at Thebes, and she always carries in her hands the sistrum. and the instrument *menat*, the emblems of her office. Thus Ani and his wife were high ecclesiastical dignitaries connected with the famous confraternity of the priests of Amen.

Copies of the Book of the Dead in the Theban period.

Age of the papyrus.

An examination of the papyri of the Theban period preserved in the British Museum shows that two distinct classes of Book of the Dead papyri existed in the XVIIIth dynasty. In the first both text and vignettes are traced in black outline,[2] the rubrics, catchwords, *etc.*, alone being in red colour; in the second the text only is black, the rubrics, *etc.*, being red, and the vignettes beautifully painted in a number of bright colours. To the latter class the papyrus of Ani belongs, but, if the text and vignettes

be compared with those found in any other early Theban papyri, it will be seen that it occupies an independent position in all respects. Though agreeing in the main with the papyri of the XVIIIth dynasty in respect of textual readings, the papyrus of Ani has peculiarities in spelling, *etc.*, which are not found in any of them. The handwriting of the first section at least suggests the best period of the XVIIIth dynasty; but as the scribe forms some of the characters in a way peculiarly his own, the palæographic evidence on this point is not decisive. That the papyrus belongs to the period which produced such documents as the papyrus of Neb-qet,[3] and the papyrus of Qenna,[4] *i.e.*, to some period of the XVIIIth dynasty, is tolerably certain; and we may assume that it is older than the papyrus of Hunefer, which was written during the reign of Seti I.; for, though belonging to the same class of highly decorated papyri, the execution of the vignettes is finer and more careful, and the free, bold forms of the hieroglyphics in the better written sections more closely resemble those of the texts inscribed in stone under the greatest kings of the XVIIIth dynasty. The "lord of the two lands," *i.e.*, of Upper and Lower Egypt, or the North and South, mentioned in pl. 4, is probably one of the Thothmes or Amenhetep kings, and

accordingly we may place the period of our papyrus between 1500 and 1400 years B.C.

[1. In the stele of Canopus, is rendered by {Greek *ta`s i'era`s parðe'nous*}; see Brugsch, Wörterbuch, P. 1454.

2. Compare the papyrus of Nebseni (British Museum, No. 9, 900)

3. *Le Papyrus de Neb-Qued*, ed. Devéria, Paris, 1872. M. Pierret, its translator, says, "Il appartient la plus ancienne époque des exemplaires sur papyrus."

4 *Papyrus Égyptien Funéraire Hiéroglyphique* (t. ii.), ed. Leemans, Leyden, 1882.]

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The text.

The text may be divided into two parts. The first part contains unusual versions of two hymns to Ra and Osiris, the vignette of the sunrise (Chapter XVIA.), and the judgment Scene accompanied by texts, some of which occur in no other papyrus. The second part comprises about sixty-two Chapters of the Theban edition of the Book, in the following order:--I., XXII. LXXII., rubric, XVII., CXLVII., CXLVI., XVIII., XXIII., XXIV., XXVI. XXXB., LXI., LIV., XXIX., XXVII., LVIII., LIX., XLIV., XLV., XLVI., L., XCIII., XLIII., LXXXIX., XCI., XCII., LXXIV., VIII., II., IX., CXXXII., X., [XLVIII.], XV., CXXXIII., CXXXIV., XVIII., CXXIV., LXXXVI., LXXVII., LXXVIII., LXXXVII., LXXXVIII., LXXXII., LXXXV.,

LXXXIII., LXXXIV., LXXXIA., LXXX., CLXXV., CXXV. Introduction and Negative Confession, XLII., CXXV., Rubric, CLV., CLVI., XXIXB., CLXVI., CLI., VI., CX., CXLVIII., CLXXXV., and CLXXXVI. The titles of these Chapters arranged according to the numeration introduced by Lepsius are as follows :--

List of Chapters.

Chapter I. "Here begin the chapters of 'coming forth by day,' and of the songs of praise and of glorifying, and of coming forth from and of going into the glorious Neter-khert in the beautiful Amenta; to be said on the day of the burial going in after coming forth." (See pp. 19, 270 and pll. 5, 6.)

The papyri belonging to the early part of the XVIIth dynasty call this Chapter the "Chapter of going in to the divine chiefs of Osiris," ###. The large numbers of the men attending the bier and of the weeping women are peculiar to the Ani papyrus.

Chapter II. "The Chapter of coming forth by day and of living after death." (See pp. 120, 321, and pl. 18.)

This Chapter is found only in one other papyrus of the Theban period (British Museum, No. 9964). Another copy of it is inscribed upon a mummy bandage preserved in the Louvre, No. 3097.'

Chapter VI.--[See Chapter CLI., of which it forms a part, pp. 233, 362, and pl. 32.] In the papyrus of Nebseni (British Museum, No. 9900) this Chapter stands by itself, and is entitled "Chapter of making the *ushabti* figures to perform work for a man in the Neter-khert,"

[1. See Naville, *Einleitung*, p. 103.]

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Chapter VIII. "The Chapter of passing through Amenta, and of coming forth by day." (See pp. 119, 320, and pl. 18.)

As a separate composition, this Chapter is found in only two other papyri of the XVIIIth dynasty.[1]

Chapter IX. "The Chapter of coming forth by day, having passed through the tomb." (See pp. 120, 321, and pl. 18.)

The vignette in the papyrus of Ani is similar to that which stands at the head of Chapters VIII. and IX. in other papyri of this period.

Chapter X. [See Chapter XLVIII., pp. 123, 321, and pl. 18.]

Chapter XV. 1. "A hymn of praise to Ra when he riseth in the eastern sky." (See pp. 1, 236, and pl. I.)

This version is found in no other papyrus.

Chapter XV. 2. "A hymn of praise to Osiris Unnefer, the great god in Abydos,"[2] *etc.* (See pp. 8, 253, and pl. 2.)

Chapter XV. 3. "A hymn of praise to Ra when he riseth in the eastern sky, and when he setteth in the [land of] life." (See pp. 123, 322, and pl. 18-21.)

The Litany to Osiris (pl. 19) and the hymn to Ra (pll. 24, 25) which follow are variants of the XVth Chapter, similar to those published by M. Naville.[3]

Chapter XVIA. consists of a vignette only. (See p. 252, and pl. 2.) Strictly speaking, it should form the vignette of the XVth Chapter, or of that part of it which refers to the rising sun. Like many other ancient papyri, the papyrus of Ani has no vignette referring to the sunset.

Chapter XVII. "Here begin the praises and glorifyings of coming out from and of going into the glorious Neter-khert in the beautiful Amenta, of coming forth by day in all the transformations which please him, of playing at draughts, and of sitting in the Sekh hall, and of coming forth as a living soul." (See pp. 27, 280, and Pll. 7-10.)

This is one of the oldest and most important of all the Chapters in the Book of the Dead, and it contains the most complete statements concerning the Egyptian cosmogony as formulated by the college of priests of Heliopolis. The scribe seems to have accidentally omitted a large section.

Chapter XVIII. This Chapter has no title.

[1. *I.e.*, in British Museum papyrus, No. 9964, and in a papyrus in Rome; see Naville, Einleitung, p. 118.

2. This hymn may form no part of the XVth chapter, and may have been inserted after the hymn to Ra on account of Ani's official connection with the ecclesiastical endowments of Abydos.]

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The papyrus of Ani contains two copies of this Chapter. In the first the gods of the localities are grouped separately, and it is preceded by a very rare introduction, in which the An-mut-f and Sa-mer-f priests introduce Ani to the gods, whom he addresses in two speeches. (See p. 71, 301, and pll. 12-14.) In the second the text is not divided into distinct sections, and the gods are not grouped. (See p. 330, and pll. 23-24.)

Chapter XXII., "The Chapter of giving a mouth to Osiris Ani, the scribe It and teller of the holy offerings of all the gods." (See pp. 25, 274, and pl. 6.)

The ceremony of giving a mouth to the deceased was, according to the vignette in the papyrus of Nebseni, performed by the "Guardian of the Balance ". In the papyrus of Ani there is no vignette, and it is remarkable that this Chapter follows immediately after Chapter 1.

Chapter XXIII. "The Chapter of opening the mouth of Osiris, the scribe Ani." (See pp. 84, 306, and pl. 15.)

Chapter XXIV. "The Chapter of bringing charms unto Osiris Ani in Neter-khert." (See pp. 85, 306, and pl. 15.)

As with other ancient Theban papyri, the papyrus of Ani gives no Vignette.

Chapter XXVI. "The Chapter of giving a heart unto Osiris Ani in Neter-khert." (See pp. 88, 308, and pl. 15.)

The vignette is probably unique.

Chapter XXVII. "The Chapter of not letting the heart of a man be taken away from him in Neter-khert." (See pp. 100, 312, and pl. 15.)

The vignette is unusual.

Chapter XXIX. "The Chapter of not letting the heart of a man be taken away from him in Neter-khert." (See pp. 97, 311, and pl. 15.)

No other copy of this Chapter is at present known.

Chapter XXIXB. "The Chapter of a heart of carnelian." (See pp. 228, 359, and pl. 33.)

Chapter XXXB. "The Chapter of not letting the heart of Osiris Ani be driven away from him in Neter-khert." (See pp. I 1, 90, 258, 309, and pl. 15-)

Chapter XLII. This Chapter is without title (see pp. 213, 353, and pl. 32), but in other ancient papyri it is called "Repulsing of slaughter in Suten-henen."

Chapter XLIII. "The Chapter of not letting the head of a man be cut off from him in Neter-khert." (See pp. 111, 317, and pl. 17.)

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As in other ancient Theban papyri, this Chapter is without vignette.

Chapter XLIV. "The Chapter of not dying a second time in Neter-khert." (See pp. 105, 315, and pl. 16.)

The vignette is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter XLV. "The Chapter of not suffering corruption in Neter-khert." (See pp. 106, 315, and pl. 16.)

Only one other copy of the text of this Chapter is known.[1] Among Theban papyri the vignette is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter XLVI. "The Chapter of not perishing and of becoming alive in Neter-khert." (See pp. 107, 316, and pl. 16.)

Only one other copy of the text of this Chapter is known (B.M. No. 9900). Among Theban papyri the vignette is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter XLVIII. "Another Chapter of one who cometh forth by day against his foes in Neter-khert." (See pp. 123, 321, and pl. 18.)

Only one other copy of the text of this Chapter is known (B.M. No. 9900). Among Theban papyri the vignette is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter L. "The Chapter of not entering in unto the block." (See pp. 108, 315, and pl. 16.)

The text of this Chapter agrees rather with the second version in the papyrus of Nebseni than with that in B.M. papyrus No. 9964. As the Ani papyrus is of Theban origin this was to be expected.

Chapter LIV. "The Chapter of giving breath in Neter-khert." (See pp. 94, 310, and pl. 15.)

Only one other copy of this Chapter is known, and it is without vignette.[2]

Chapter LVIII. " The Chapter of breathing the air, and of having power over the water in Neter-khert." (See pp. 103, 314, and pl. 16.)

No other copy of this Chapter is known.

Chapter LIX. "The Chapter of breathing the air, and of having power over the water in Neter-khert." (See pp. 104, 315, and pl. 16.)

Only one other copy of this Chapter is known.[2]

Chapter LXI. "The Chapter of not letting the soul of a man be taken away from him in Neter-khert." (See pp. 91, 309, and pl. 15.)

The vignette is similar to that in the papyrus of Sutimes, which M. Naville believes to be no older than the XIXth dynasty.[3]

[1. Naville, *Einleitung*, p. 134.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 100.]

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List of Chapters

Chapter LXXII.--Rubric. (See pp. 26, 275, and pl. 6.)

Chapter LXXIV. "The Chapter of walking with the legs and of coming forth upon earth." (See pp. 118, 320, and pl. 18.)

Chapter LXXVII. " The Chapter of changing into a golden hawk ." (See pp. 152, 332, and pl. 25.)

Chapter LXXVIII. "The Chapter of changing into a divine hawk." (See pp. 154, 333, and pl. 25, 26.)

Chapter LXXX. "The Chapter of changing into the god who giveth light in the darkness." (See pp. 182, 341, and pl. 28.)

Chapter LXXXIA. "The Chapter of changing into a lotus." (See pp. 181, 340, and pl. 28.)

The pool of water in the vignette is uncommon.

Chapter LXXXII. "The Chapter of changing into Ptah." (See pp. 170, 337, and pl. 27.)

As in other XVIIIth dynasty papyri, this Chapter has a vignette.

Chapter LXXXIII. "The Chapter of changing into a bennu bird" (ph 渘 ix?). (See pp. 176, 339, and pl. 27.)

Like other XVIIIth dynasty papyri, this Chapter lacks the addition which is found in the papyrus of Sutimes.

Chapter LXXXIV. "The Chapter of changing into a heron." (See pp. 178, 339, and pl. 28.)

Chapter LXXXV. " The Chapter of changing into the soul of Tmu." (See pp. 172, 338, and pl. 27.)

The vignette to this Chapter is similar to that of the papyrus of Tura, surnamed Nefer-uben-f, of the XVIIIth dynasty.'

Chapter LXXXVI. "The Chapter of changing into a swallow." (See pp. 250, 331, and pl. 25.)

Chapter LXXXVII. "The Chapter of changing into Seta." (See pp. 169, 337, and pl. 27.)

Chapter LXXXVIII. "The Chapter of changing into a crocodile." (See pp. 170, 337, and pl. 27.)

Chapter LXXXIX. "The Chapter of causing the soul to be united to its body in Neter-khert." (See pp. 112, 318, and pl. 17.)

The two incense burners which stand, one at the head and one at the foot of the bier, are peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

[1. Naville, *Einleitung*, p. 97.]

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List of Chapters.

Chapter XCI. "The Chapter of not letting the soul of a man be captive in Neter-khert." (See pp. 114, 319, and pl. 17.)

Chapter XCII. "The Chapter of opening the tomb to the soul and the shadow, of coming forth by day, and of getting power over the legs." (See pp. 115, 319, and pl. 17.)

The vignette of this Chapter is unusual and of great interest, for in it Ani's soul accompanies his shadow.

Chapter XCIII. "The Chapter of not letting a man pass over to the east in Neter-khert." (See pp. 109, 317, and pl. 17-)

The vignette as here given is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter XCIIIA. "Another Chapter." (See pp. 110, 317, and pl. 17.)

Chapter CX. "Here begin the Chapters of the Sekhet-hetepu, and the Chapters of coming forth by day, and of going into and coming out from Neter-khert, and of arriving in the Sekhet-Aanru, and of being in peace in the great city wherein are fresh breezes." (See pp. 236, 362, and pl. 34.)

The text is here incomplete.

Chapter CXXIV. "The Chapter of going unto the divine chiefs of Osiris." (See pp. 146, 330, and pl. 24.)

In the vignette we should expect four, instead of three, gods.

Chapter CXXV. "The Chapter of entering into the Hall of double Right and Truth: a hymn of praise to Osiris." (See pp. 189, 344, and pl. 30.)

The Introduction to this Chapter as found in the papyrus of Ani is not met with elsewhere; the text which usually follows the

"Negative Confession" is however omitted. The vignette as here given is peculiar to the papyrus of Ani.

Chapter CXXXII. "The Chapter of making a man to return to see again his home upon earth." (See pp. 121, 321, and pl. 18.)

Chapter CXXX III. "[A Chapter] to be said on the day of the month." (See pp. 138, 327, and pl. 21.)

Chapter CXXXIII.--Rubric. (See pp. 142, 328, and pl. 22.)

Chapter CXXXIV. "A hymn of praise to Ra on the day of the month wherein he saileth in the boat." (See pp. 142, 329, and pl. 22.)

Chapter CXLVI. "The Chapter of renewing the pylons in the House of Osiris which is in the Sekhet-Aanru." (See pp. 63, 295, and pll. 11, 12.)

Chapter CXLVII. "A Chapter to be said when Ani cometh to the first Aril." (See pp. 56, 291, and pll. 11, 12.)

Chapter CXLVIII. Without title. See pp. 239, 366, and pl. 35.)

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List of Chapters.

Chapter CLI. Scene in the mummy chamber. (See pp. 229, 360, and Pll. 33, 34.)

Chapter CLV. "The Chapter of a Tet of gold." (See pp. 225, 357, and pl. 33.)

Chapter CLVI. "The Chapter of a Buckle of carnelian." (See pp. 227, 359, and pl. 33.)

Chapter CLXVI. "The Chapter of the Pillow which is placed under the head." (See pp. 228, 359, and pl. 33.)

Chapter CLXXV. " The Chapter of not dying a second time." (See pp. 184, 341, and pl. 29.)

Only one other much mutilated copy of this most important Chapter is known. In it it is declared that neither men nor gods can conceive what great glory has been laid up for Ani in his existence in the next world, and that his life therein shall be for "millions of millions of years."

Chapter CLXXXV. "A Hymn of Praise to Osiris, the dweller in Amenta, Un-nefer within Abtu (Abydos)." (See pp. 241, 367, and pl. 36.)

Chapter CLXXXVI. "A Hymn of praise to Hathor." (See pp. 242, 368. and pl. 37.)

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

Translation

PLATE I.

Vignette: The scribe Ani, standing with hands raised in adoration before a table of offerings consisting of haunches of beef, loaves of bread and cake, vases of wine and oil, fruits, lotus, and other flowers. He wears a fringed white and saffron-coloured linen garment; and has a wig, necklace, and bracelets. Behind him stands his wife "Osiris, the lady of the house, the lady of the choir of Amen, Thuthu,"[1] similarly robed and holding a sistrum and a vine (?)-branch in her right hand, and a *menat*[2] in her left.

[1. See Plate XIX.

2. The *menat*, which is often called "the counterpoise of a collar," consists of a disk, with a handle attached, and a cord. It was an object which was usually offered to the gods, with the sistrum; it was presented to guests at a feast by their host; and it was held by priestesses at religious festivals. It was either worn on the neck or carried in the left hand; and it was an emblem which brought joy to the bearer. Interesting examples of the pendent *menat* in the British Museum are No. 17,166, inscribed, "Beautiful god, lord of the two lands, maker of things, King of the North and South, Khnem-ab-Ra, son of the Sun, Aahmes (Amasis), beloved of Hathor, lady of sycamore trees"; and No. 13,950 * in *faïence*; and Nos. 8172, 8173, and 20,607 in hard stone. No. 18,108 is the disk of a *menat* in faïence, inscribed, Hathor, lady of the town of Anitha." No. 20,760 is a disk and handle in bronze, the disk having, in hollow work, the figure of a cow, sacred to Hathor, and the handle, the upper part of which is in the form of the head of Hathor, having a sistrum. On the one side is the prenomen of Amenophis III. and on the other is Hathor, lady of the sycamore." The meaning and use of the menat is discussed by Lefébure

in Le *Menat et le Nom de l'eunuque* (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1891, pp. 333-349).

* A duplicate is in the Louvre; see Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art, l'Égypte, p. 821, No. 550.]

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Text: [Chapter XV.] (1) [1] A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Behold Osiris Ani the scribe who recordeth the holy offerings of all the gods, (2) who saith: "Homage to thee, O thou who hast come as Khepera,[2] Khepera, the creator of the gods. Thou risest, thou shinest, (3) making bright thy mother [Nut], crowned king of the gods. [Thy] mother Nut doeth homage unto thee with both her hands. (4) The land of Manu[4] receiveth thee with content, and the goddess Maat[5] embraceth thee at the two seasons. May he give splendour, and power, and triumph, and (5) a coming-forth [*i.e.*, resurrection] as a living soul to see Horus of the two horizons[6] to the

[1. The numbers in parentheses indicate the lines of the papyrus.

2. The god Khepera is usually represented with a beetle for a head; and the scarab, or beetle, was sacred to him. The name means "to become, to turn, to roll," and the abstract noun*kheperu* may be rendered by "becomings," or "evolutions." The god was self-created, and was the father of all the other gods; men and women sprang from the tears which fell from his eyes; and the animal and vegetable worlds owed their existence to him. Khepera is a phase of Tmu, the night-sun, at the twelfth hour of the night, when he "becomes" the rising sun or Harmachis (*i.e.*, Horus in the horizon). He is also described as " Khepera in the morning, Ra at mid-day, and Tmu in the evening." See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 927 ff.; Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra*, p. 264, note 2; Pierret, Panthéon, pp. 74, 75; Lefébure,

Traduction Comparée des Hymnes au Soleil, p. 39; De Rougé, *Inscription d'Ahmés*, p. 110; *Archaeologia*, vol. 52, p. 541 ff.; Wiedemann, *Die Religion der Alten Aegypter*, p. 17; Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 245, *etc*.

3. The goddess Nut represented the sky, and perhaps also the exact place where the sun rose. She was the wife of Seb, the Earth-god, and gave birth to Isis, Osiris, and other gods. One of her commonest titles is "mother of the gods." She is depicted as a woman bearing a vase upon her head, and sometimes wears the disk and horns usually characteristic of Isis and Hathor. She was the daughter and mother of Ra. See Lanzone, Dizionario, p. 392; Pierret, *Panthéon*, pp. 34, 36; Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, pp. 603-610.

4. Manu is the name given to the mountains on the western bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes, wherein was situated *tu Manu*, "the mountain of Manu," the chief site of rock-hewn tombs. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 259.

5. Maat, "daughter of the Sun, and queen of the gods," is the personification of righteousness and truth and justice. In many papyri she is represented as leading the deceased into the Hall of Double Maat, where his heart is to be weighed against her emblem. She usually wears the feather, emblematic of Truth, and is called the "lady of heaven": see Lanzone,*Dizionario*, p. 276 (and tav. 109, where the twin-goddesses Maat are shown); Pierret, *Panthéon*, p. 2011. She is sometimes represented blind-fold: see Wiedemann, Religion der alten Aegypter, p. 78. For figures of the goddess in bronze and stone, see Nos. 380, 383, 386, II, 109, and II, 114 in the British Museum.

6 *Heru-khuti*, *i.e.*, "Horus of the two horizons," the Harmachis of the Greeks, is the day-sun from his rising in the eastern horizon to his setting in the western horizon; for the various forms in which he is represented, see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, tav. 129. Strictly speaking, he is the rising sun, and is one of the most important forms of Horus. As god of mid-day and evening he is called Ra-Harmachis and Tmu-Harmachis respectively. The sphinx at Gizeh was dedicated to him.]

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ka[1] of Osiris,[2] the scribe Ani, triumphant[3] before Osiris,

(6) who saith: Hail all ye gods of the Temple of the Soul,[4] who

weigh heaven and earth in the balance, and who provide food and abundance of meat. Hail Tatunen,[5] One, (7) creator of mankind and of the substance of the gods of the south and of the north, of the west and of the east. Ascribe [ye] praise unto Ra, the lord of heaven, the (8) Prince, Life, Health, and Strength, the Creator of the gods, and adore ye him in his beautiful Presence as he riseth in the *atet*[6] boat. (9) They who dwell in the heights and they who dwell in the depths worship thee. Thoth[7] and Maat both are thy recorders. Thine enemy[8] is given to the (10) fire, the evil one hath fallen; his arms are bound, and his legs hath Ra taken from him. The children of (11) impotent revolt shall never rise up again.

[1. According to the Egyptian belief man consisted of a body *xa*, a soul *ba*, an intelligence *xu*, and *ka*, The word *ka* means "image," the Greek *ei?'dolon* (compare Coptic *kau* Peyron,*Lexicon*, p. 61). The *ka* seems to have been the "ghost," as we should say, of a man, and it has been defined as his abstract personality, to which, after death, the Egyptians gave a material form. It was a subordinate part of the human being during life, but after death it became active; and to it the offerings brought to the tomb by the relatives of the dead were dedicated. It was believed that it returned to the body and had a share in its re-vivification. See Birch, *Mémoire sur une patère Égyptienne* (in *Trans. Soc. Imp. des Antiquaires de France*, 1858; Chabas, *Papyrus Magique*, pp. 28, 29; Maspero, *Étude sur quelques peintures*, p. 191 ff.; *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vi., p. 494 ff.; Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 181; Wiedemann, *Religion der alien Aegypter*, p. 126 f.).

2 The deceased is always identified with Osiris, or the sun which has set, the judge and god of the dead. As the sun sets in the west and rises again in the cast, so the dead man is laid in his tomb on the western bank of the Nile, and after being acquitted in the Hall of judgment, proceeds to the east to begin a new existence.

3. *maaxeru* or *maatxeru*. On this word, see Naville, *Litanie du Soleil*, p. 74; Devéria, *L'Expression Mââ-xerou* (in *Recueil de Travaux*, tom. i., p. 10 ff.).

4. Compare ### and ### Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, pp. 185, 186.

5. Tatunen, or Tenen was, like Seb with whom he was identified, the god of the earth; his name is often joined to that of Ptah, and he is then described as the creator of gods and men, and the maker of the egg of the sun and of the moon. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 1259; Wiedemann, *Religion*, p. 74; Pierret, *Panthéon*, p. 6; and Naville, *La Litanie du Soleil*, pp. 118, 119, and plate xxiv., 1. 3. This god was, in one aspect, a destroyer of created things; compare ###, Naville, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

6. A name for the boat of the evening sun.

7. See *infra*, p. 257, note 2.

8 The enemy of Ra was darkness and night, or any cloud which obscured the light of the sun. The darkness personified was Apep, Nak, etc., and his attendant fiends were the *mesu betesh*, or 'children of unsuccessful revolt.']

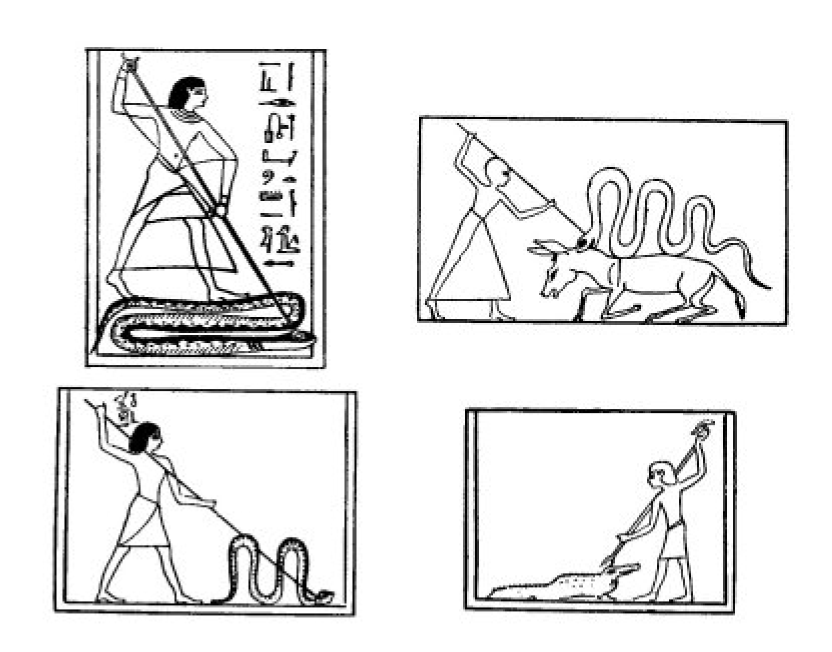
The House of the Prince[1] keepeth festival, and the sound of those who rejoice is in the (12) mighty dwelling. The gods are glad [when] they see Ra in his rising; his beams flood the world with light. (13) The majesty of the god, who is to be feared, setteth forth and cometh unto the land of Manu; he maketh bright the earth at his birth each day; he cometh unto the place where he was yesterday. (14) O mayest thou be at peace with me; may I behold thy beauties; may I advance upon the earth; may I smite the Ass; may I crush (15) the evil one; may I destroy Apep[2] in his hour[3]; may I

see the *abtu*[4] fish at the time of his creation, and the *ant* fish in his creation, and the (16) *ant*[4] boat in its lake. May I see Horus in charge of the rudder, with Thoth

[1. ###, more fully ### "the great house of the old man," *i.e.*, the great temple of Ra at Heliopolis: see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 153.

2 Apep, the serpent, personifying darkness, which Horus. or the rising sun must conquer before he can re-appear in the East.

3 Compare the following scenes which represent Apep in the form of a serpent and crocodile and ass being pierced by the deceased.



4 The *abtu* and the *ant* fishes are sometimes depicted on coffins swimming at the bows of the boat of the sun.]

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and Maat beside him; may I grasp the bows of the (17) *seket*[1]boat, and the stern of the *atet* boat. May he grant unto the *ka* of Osiris Ani to behold the disk of the Sun and to see the Moon-god without

ceasing, every day; and may my soul (18) come forth and walk hither and thither and whithersoever it pleaseth. May my name be proclaimed when it is found upon the board of the table of (22) offerings; may offerings be made unto me in my (24) presence, even as they are made unto the followers of Horus; may there be prepared for me a seat in the boat of the Sun on the day of the going forth of the (26) god; and may I be received into the presence of Osiris in the land (28) of triumph!

Appendix: The following versions of this chapter are taken from: I. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Pl. xiv. II. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Pl. xv.; III. *British Museum Papyrus* No. 9901 and IV. *British Museum Papyrus* No. 10,471.

I. (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Behold Osiris, Qenna the merchant, (2) who saith: "Homage to thee, in thy rising thou Tmu in thy crowns of beauty. Thou risest, thou risest, thou Ra shinest, (3) thou shinest, at dawn of day. Thou art crowned like unto the king of the gods, and the goddess Shuti doeth homage unto thee. (4) The company of the gods praise thee from the double-dwelling. Thou goest forth over the upper air and thy heart is filled with gladness. (5) The *sektet* boat draweth onward as [Ra] cometh to the haven in the *atet* boat

with fair winds. Ra rejoiceth, Ra rejoiceth. (6) Thy father is Nu, thy mother is Nut, and thou art crowned as Ra-Harmachis. Thy sacred boat advanceth in peace. Thy foe hath been cast down and his (7) head hath been cut off; the heart of the Lady of life rejoiceth in that the enemy of her lord hath been overthrown. The mariners of Ra have content of heart and Annu rejoiceth."

(8) The merchant Qenna saith: "I have come to thee, O Lord of the gods, Tmu-Harmachis, who passest over the earth . . . . (9) I know that by which thou dost live. Grant that I may be like unto one of those who are thy favoured (10) ones [among the followers] of the great god. May my name be proclaimed, may it be found, may it be lastingly renewed with . . . . (11) The oars are lifted into the *sektet* boat, and the sacred boat cometh in peace. (12) May I see Ra when he appeareth in the sky at dawn, and when his enemies have fallen at the block. (13) May I behold [Horus] guiding the rudder and steering with [his] two hands. (14) May I see the *abtu* fish at the moment of his creation; and may I see the *ant* fish when he maketh himself manifest at creation, and the *ant* boat upon its lake. O thou Only One, O thou Mighty One, thou Growing One, (15) who dost never wax faint, and

[1. A name of the boat of the rising sun.]

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from whom power cannot be taken. . . . . the devoted (17) servant of "the lord of Abtu."

"The merchant Qenna saith: (18) "Homage to thee Heru-Khuti-Tmu, Heru-Khepera, mighty hawk, who dost cause the body [of man] to make merry, beautiful of face by reason of thy two great plumes. Thou (19) wakest up in beauty at the dawn, when the company of the gods and mortals sing songs of joy unto thee; hymns of praise are offered unto thee at eventide. The (20) starry deities also adore thee. O thou firstborn, who dost lie without movement, (21) arise; thy mother showeth loving kindness unto thee every day. Ra liveth and the fiend Nak is dead; thou dost endure for ever, and the (22) fiend hath fallen.

"Thou sailest over the sky with life and strength. The goddess Nehebka is in (23) the *atet* boat; the sacred boat rejoiceth. Thy heart is glad and thy brow is wreathed with the twin serpents."

II. (I) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Behold Osiris, Qenna the merchant, triumphant, who saith: (2) "Homage to thee, O thou who risest in Nu, and who at thy birth dost make the world bright with light; all the company

of the gods (3) sing hymns of praise unto thee. The beings who minister unto Osiris cherish him as King of the North and of the South, the beautiful and beloved man-child. When (4) he riseth, mortals live. The nations rejoice in him, and the Spirits of Annu sing unto him songs of joy. The Spirits of the towns of Pe and Nekhen (5) exalt him, the apes of dawn adore him, and all beasts and cattle praise (6) him with one accord. The goddess Seba overthroweth thine enemies, therefore rejoice (7) within thy boat; and thy mariners are content thereat. Thou hast arrived in the *atet* boat, and thy heart swelleth with joy. O Lord of the gods, when thou (8) dost create them, they ascribe praises unto thee. The azure goddess Nut doth compass thee on every side, and the god Nu floodeth thee with his rays of light. (9) O cast thou thy light upon me and let me see thy beauties, me, the (10) Osiris Qenna the merchant, triumphant! When thou goest forth over the earth I will sing praises unto thy fair (11) face. Thou risest in the horizon of heaven, and [thy] disk is adored [when] it resteth upon the mountain to give life unto the world."

Saith Qenna the merchant, triumphant: (12) "Thou risest, thou risest, coming forth from the god Nu. Thou dost become young again and art the same as thou wert yesterday, O mighty youth who hast created thyself. Not . . . . my hand. (13) Thou hast come

with thy splendours, and thou hast made heaven and earth bright with thy rays of pure emerald light. The land of Punt is (14) established for the perfumes which thou smellest with thy nostrils. (15) Thou risest, O thou marvellous Being, in heaven, the twin serpents are placed upon thy brow, and thou art lord of the world and the inhabitants (16) thereof; [the company] of the gods and Qenna the merchant, triumphant, adore thee."

III. (1, 2) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. (3) Behold Osiris Hunefer, triumphant, who saith: "Homage to thee, O thou who art Ra when thou (4) risest and Tmu when thou settest. Thou risest, thou risest; thou shinest, (5) thou shinest, thou who art crowned king of the {p. 251} gods. Thou art the lord of heaven, [thou art] the lord of earth, [thou art] the creator of those who dwell in the heights (6) and of those who dwell in the depths. [Thou art] the One god who came into (7) being in the beginning of time. Thou didst create the earth, (8) thou didst fashion man, thou didst make the watery abyss of the sky, thou didst form Hapi [the Nile], and thou art the maker of streams and of the (9) great deep, and thou givest life to all that is therein. Thou hast knit (10) together the mountains, thou has made mankind and the beasts of the field, thou hast created the heavens and the earth. Worshipped be thou whom the goddess

Maat embraceth at morn and at eve. Thou dost travel across the (11) sky with heart swelling with joy; the Lake of Testes is at peace. The fiend Nak hath fallen and his two arms are cut off. The *sektet* boat receiveth fair winds, and the heart of him that is in his shrine rejoiceth. Thou (12) art crowned with a heavenly form, the Only one, provided [with all things]. Ra cometh forth from Nu in triumph. O thou mighty youth, thou everlasting son, self-begotten, who didst give thyself birth, (13) O thou mighty One, of myriad forms and aspects, king of the world, Prince of Annu, lord of eternity and ruler of the everlasting, the company of the gods rejoice when thou risest and when thou sailest (14) across the sky, O thou who art exalted in the sektet boat. Homage to thee, O Amen-Ra, thou who dost rest upon Maat, thou who passest over the heaven, and every face seeth thee. Thou dost wax great as thy (15) Majesty doth advance, and thy rays are upon all faces. Thou art unknown and canst not be searched out . . . . his fellow except thyself; thou art (16) the Only One . . . . . . [Men] praise thee in thy name [Ra], and they swear by thee, for thou art lord over them. Thou hast heard (17) with thine ears and thou hast seen with thine eyes. Millions of years have gone over the world; I cannot tell the number of them, through which thou hast passed. Thy heart hath decreed a day of happiness in thy name

[of Ra]. Thou dost pass over (18) and travellest through untold spaces of millions and hundreds of thousands of years; thou settest out in peace, and thou steerest thy way across the watery abyss to the place which thou lovest; this thou doest in one (19) little moment of time, and thou dost sink down and makest an end of the hours."

Osiris, the governor of the palace of the lord of the two lands (*i.e.*, Seti I.), Hunefer, triumphant, saith: (20) Hail my lord, thou that passest through eternity and whose being is everlasting. Hail thou Disk, lord of beams of light, thou risest and thou makest all mankind to live. Grant thou that I may behold thee at dawn each day."

IV. A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA by Nekht, the royal scribe, captain of soldiers, who saith: "Homage to thee, O thou glorious Being, thou who art provided [with all things]. O Tmu-Heru-khuti, when thou risest in the horizon of heaven, a cry of joy cometh out of the mouth of all peoples. O thou beautiful Being, thou dost renew thyself in thy season in the form of the Disk within thy mother Hathor; therefore in every place every heart swelleth with joy at thy rising, for ever. The eastern and the western parts of heaven come to thee with homage, and give forth sounds of joy at

thy rising. O Ra, thou who art Heru-khuti (Harmachis), the mighty man-child, the heir of eternity, self-begotten and self-born, king of earth, prince of the netherworld, governor of the mountains of Aukert (*i.e.*, the netherworld), thou dost rise in the horizon of heaven and sheddest upon the world beams of emerald light; thou art born from the {p. 252} water, thou art sprung from Nu, who fostereth thee and ordereth thy members. O thou who art crowned king of the gods, god of life, lord of love, all the nations live when thou dost shine. The goddess Nut doeth homage unto thee, and the goddess Maat embraceth thee at all times. They who are in thy following sing unto thee with joy and bow down to the earth when they meet thee, the god of heaven, the lord of earth, the king of right and truth, the god of eternity, the everlasting ruler, the prince of all the gods, the god of life, the creator of eternity, the maker of heaven by whom is established all that therein is. The company of the gods rejoice at thy rising, the earth is glad when it beholdeth thy rays; the peoples that have been long dead come forth with cries of joy to see thy beauties. Thou goest forth over heaven and earth, made strong each day by thy mother Nut. Thou passest through the uppermost heaven, thy heart swelleth with joy; and the Lake of Testes is content thereat. The Enemy hath fallen, his arms are hewn off, the knife hath cut asunder his

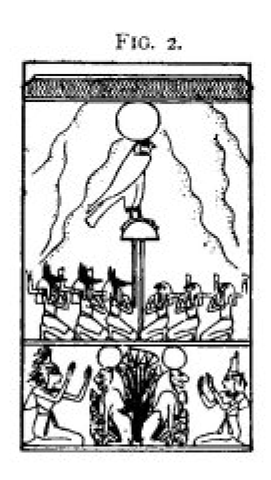
joints. Ra liveth in Maa[1] the beautiful. The *sektet* boat draweth on and cometh into port; the south, the north, the west and the east turn to praise thee, O thou unformed substance of the earth, who didst create thyself. Isis and Nephthys salute thee, they sing unto thee in thy boat hymns of joy, they shield thee with their hands. The souls of the East follow thee, the souls of the West praise thee. Thou art the ruler of all gods and thou hast joy of heart within thy shrine; for the Serpent Nak is condemned to the fire, and thy heart shall be joyful for ever. Thy mother Nut is adjudged to thy father Nu."

PLATE II.

Vignette I.: The disk of the Sun, supported by a pair of arms proceeding from the ankh, the sign of life, which in turn is supported by a *tet* the emblem of the East and of the god Osiris. The *tet* stands upon the horizon. On each side of the disk are three dog-headed apes, spirits of the Dawn, their arms raised in adoration of the disk. On the right hand side of the *tet* is the goddess Nephthys and on the left is Isis each goddess raising her hands in adoration of the *tet*, and kneeling upon the emblem *aat*, or hemisphere. Above is the sky. This vignette belongs properly to the hymn to the rising sun.[2]

[1. Maa, unvarying and unalterable Law. Compare the vignette from British Museum papyrus No. 9901. (Fig. 1.)


FIG. 1.


FIG. 2.

In some papyri the apes are four (Naville, *Das Aeg. Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., B1. 26), or seven (Naville, *op. cit.*, Bd. I., Bl. 21) in number.

In the vignette which usually accompanies the hymn to the setting sun (Fig. 2), but which does not occur in the present papyrus, a hawk wearing on his head a disk encircled by a serpent, *i.e.*, Ra-Harmachis, {footnote p. 253} takes the place of the disk and (*e.g.*, British Museum papyri Nos. 9901 (Naville, op. cit., Bd. I., Bl. 22,), and 10,472); and the *tet* is represented by the stand ### (Naville, *op. cit.*, Bd. 1., Bl. 22), on one side of which are three hawk-headed deities, and on the other three jackal-headed deities (see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, 10, pp. 56, 57.). Beneath are Isis and Nephthys kneeling in adoration before two lion-gods, which represent yesterday and to-morrow. An interesting variant of the latter vignette occurs in British Museum papyrus No. 10,472, which was made for the lady Anhai, a singer in the temple of Amen at Thebes, about B.C. 1000, where, in addition to the apes and figures of the goddesses (the titles of Isis being ### and those of Nephthys ###, there are represented, on each side (I) the winged *utchat* with pendent uræus and *shen* ### (emblematic of the sun's circuit) and feather (2) a man, prostrate, adoring the disk; (3) four men, upright, with both hands raised in adoration; and (4) a human-headed bird ###, emblematic of the soul of the deceased lady, standing upon a pylon.]

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Text: (1) [HYMN TO OSIRIS.] "Glory be to Osiris Un-nefer, the great

god within Abydos, king of eternity, lord of the everlasting, who

passeth through millions of years in his existence. Eldest son of the womb (2) of Nut, engendered by Seb the Erpat,[1] lord of the crowns of the North and South, lord of the lofty white crown. As Prince of gods and of men (3) he hath received the crook and the flail and the dignity of his divine fathers.[2] Let thy heart which is

[1. The word ### *er-pat* is composed of *er* "chief" and *pat* a clan, "tribe," or "family"; Seb, then, was the prince of the family of the gods. *Erpat* is a very ancient word, and was probably in use in Egypt before *suten*, the common word for "king." For a discussion on this point see Maspero, *Un Manuel de Hiérarchie Égyptienne*, p. 15 ff.; Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 210.

2 Osiris, the night sun, was the son of Ra, and the father and son of Horus. He is always represented as a mummy holding in his hands the sceptre ### crook ### and flail ###. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 690 ff.; Wiedemann, *Religion*, p. 123 ff.; Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 611 ff.]

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in the mountain of Amenta be content, for thy son Horus is stablished upon thy throne. (4) Thou art crowned lord of Tattu[1] and ruler in Abtu.[2] Through thee the world waxeth green (5) in triumph before the might of Neb-er-tcher.[3] He leadeth in his train that which is and that which is not yet, in his name (6) Ta-her-seta-nef;[4] he toweth along the earth in triumph in his name Seker.[6] He is (7) exceeding mighty and most terrible in his name Osiris. He endureth for ever and for ever in his name Un-nefer.[6] (8) Homage to thee, King of kings, Lord of lords,

Prince of princes, who from the womb of Nut hast possessed the world (9) and hast ruled all lands and Akert.[7] Thy body is of gold, thy head is of azure, and emerald light encircleth thee. O An[8] of millions of years, (10) all-pervading with thy body and

[1. The name Tettet or Tattu was borne by two towns in Lower Egypt: Busiris, the metropolis of the 9th nome, and Mendes, the metropolis of the 16th nome. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 978, and De Rougé, *Géographie Ancienne de la Basse Égypte*, p. 58.

2. Both Busiris and Abydos claimed to be the resting place of the body of Osiris.

3. A name of Osiris when his scattered limbs had been brought together and built up again into a body by Isis and Nephthys: see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 714. The name means "lord of entirety."

4. *I.e.*, The one who draws the world.

5. Seker is, like Ptah, Osiris, and Tenen, a form of the night sun. At the festival of this god, the Hennu boat, a symbol of the god Seker of Memphis, was drawn round the sanctuary at dawn at the moment when the sun casts its golden rays upon the earth. For a list of Seker's shrines, see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pp. 1117-1119. See also Wiedemann, *Religion*, p. 75; Pierret, *Panthéon*, p. 66.

6. A name of Osiris which, as an important name, is written at times in a cartouche, *e.g.*, ###, ###. It is usually explained to mean "the Good Being," although it has been suggested ### (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1886) that "beautiful hare" is its signification.

7. A general term for a necropolis. Akert is the country of which Osiris was the prince; and it is mentioned as connected with *Stat* and *Neter-khert*, each of which is a name of the great necropolis on the western bank of the Nile. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 75; Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, chap. 165, 1. 6; Naville, *La Litanie du Soleil*, p. 98.

8. An or Ani, a name or form of Ra, the Sun-god (compare "Ani at the head of the cycle of the gods," Grébaut, *Hymne*, p. 22), and also of Osiris. Ani is also identified with the Moon-god; compare {footnote p. 255} [*]

"Hail, Ani, thou shinest upon us from heaven every day. May we never cease to behold thy rays! Thoth protecteth thee and maketh thy soul to stand up in the *maat* boat in thy name of Moon." For the identification of Ani with Horus, see Naville, *La Litanie du Soleil*, p. 99, note 10. The god Ani is also addressed as "Eye of Horus " by the deceased in the 39th chapter of the Book of the Dead, which refers to the "uniting of a soul to its body in the underworld."

* For the hieratic text, see De Horrack, *Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys*, p. 4, II. 1-3.]

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beautiful in countenance in Ta-sert.[1] Grant thou to the *ka* of Osiris, the scribe Ani, splendour in heaven and might upon earth and triumph in Neter-khert;[1] and that I may sail down to (11) Tattu like a living soul and up to (13) Abtu like a *bennu* (ph 渘 ix); and that I may go in and come out without repulse at (15) the pylons of the Tuat.[1] May there be given unto (16) me loaves of bread in the house of coolness, and (17) offerings of food in Annu, (18) and a homestead for ever in Sekhet-Aru[2] with wheat and barley (20) therefor."

PLATE III.

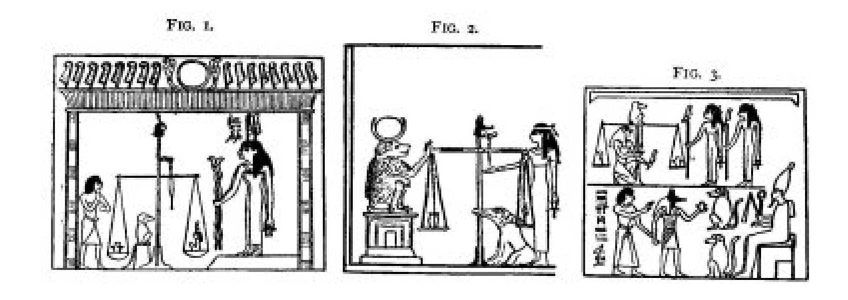
Vignette: Scene of the weighing of the Heart of the Dead. Ani and his wife enter the Hall of Double Law or Truth, wherein the heart, emblematical of the conscience, is to be weighed in the balance against the feather, emblematical of law. Above, twelve gods, each

holding a sceptre are seated upon thrones before a table of offerings of fruit, flowers, etc. Their names are: Harmachis, "the great god within his boat"; Tmu; Shu; Tefnut, "lady of heaven"; Seb; Nut, "lady of Heaven" Isis; Nephthys; Horus, "the great god"; Hathor, "lady of Amenta"; and Sa. Upon the beam of the scales sits the dog-headed ape which was associated

[1. A name of the underworld.

2. Or *Sexet-Anru*, a division of the *Sexet-hetepu* (see Plate XXXV.), the Elysian fields wherein the souls of the blessed were supposed to reap and sow.

3. In British Museum papyrus No. 9901 the goddess Maat is seated on the centre of the beam of the balance. The double Maat goddesses are at times represented standing beside the balance to watch the result of the weighing, and at the same time Maat is also placed in the scale to be weighed against the heart of the deceased (Fig. x) (see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 136, Pa.). {footnote page 256} In the papyrus of Qenna the head of Anubis is on the beam, and the ape, wearing disk and crescent, is seated upon a pylon-shaped pedestal beside the balance (Fig. 2). Another vignette shows Horus holding Maat in his band, weighing the heart in the presence of the Maat goddesses, and Anubis, holding the deceased by the hand, presents the heart to Osiris while Isis and Nephthys in the form of apes sit near (Fig. 3).



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with Thoth,[1] the scribe of the gods. The god Anubis, jackal-headed, tests the tongue of the balance, the suspending bracket of which is in the form of the feather The inscription above the head of Anubis reads:--"He who is in the tomb saith, pray thee, O weigher of righteousness, to guide (?) the balance that it may be stablished.'" On the left of the balance, facing Anubis, stands Ani's "Luck" or "Destiny," *Shai* and above is the object called *mesxen* which has been described[2] as "a cubit with human head," and which is supposed to be connected with the place of birth. Behind these stand the goddesses Meskhenet and Renenet: Meskhenet[3]

[1. In the papyrus of Sutimes (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 43) the ape is called *neb xemennu ut a maa*, "Lord of Khemennu, just weigher"; and in British Museum papyrus No. 9900, "Thoth, lord of the scales."

2. Birch, in Bunsen's Egypt's Place, vol. v., p. 259. In the papyrus of Anhai (British Museum, No. 10,472) there is a *meskhen* on each side of the upright of the balance: one is called Shai and the other Renen.

3. Four goddesses bore the name of Meskhen, and they were supposed to assist the resurrection of Osiris; they were associated with Tefnut, Nut, Isis, and Nephthys (see Lepsius,*Denkmäler*, iv., Bl. 59a; and Mariette, *Dendérah*, iv., pl. 74 *a*). Each wore upon her head the object ###, which is said by some to represent the blossoms of palm trees (Lanzone,*Dizionario*, p. 329). Examples of this as an amulet, in hard stone, in the British Museum, are Nos. 8158, 8159, 8161, 20,618, and, in porcelain, No. 15,963.]

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presiding over the birth-chamber, and Renenet[1] probably superintending the rearing of children. Behind the *meskhen* is the soul of Ani in the form of a human-headed bird standing on a pylon. On the right of the balance, behind Anubis, stands Thoth,[2] the scribe of the gods, with his reed-pen and palette[3] containing black and red ink, with which to record the result of the trial. Behind Thoth stands the female monster Amam[4], the "Devourer," or Am-mit, the eater of the Dead."

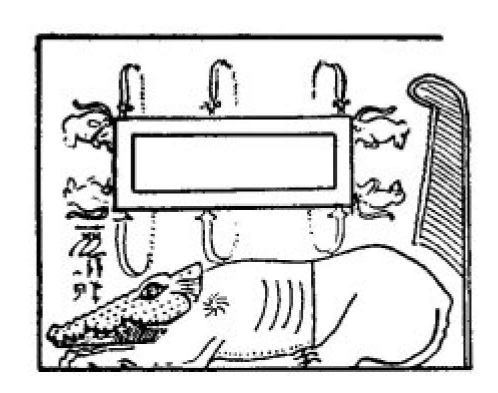
[1. The name of this goddess is probably connected with the word *renen*, "to suckle." M. Pierret identifies her with the goddess of that name who presided over harvests, and is described as the "lady of the offerings of all the gods" (*Panthéon*, p. 61), having a snake's head, which in some instances is surmounted by the disk, horns and feathers of the goddess Hathor (see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, tav. 188, No. 2).

2 Thoth was the personification of intelligence. He was self-created and self-existent, and was the "heart of Ra." He invented writing, letters, the arts and sciences, and he was skilled in astronomy and mathematics. Among his many titles are "lord of Law," "maker of Law," and "begetter of Law." He justified Osiris against his enemies, and he wrote the story of the fight between Horus, the son of Osiris, and Set. As "lord of Law" he presides over the trial of the heart of the dead, and, as being the justifier of the god Osiris against his enemies, he is represented in funereal scenes as the justifier also of the dead before Osiris (see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 1264 ff., and tav. cccciv., No. i; Pierret, Panthéon, pp. 10-14; and Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie*, p. 439 ff.). Brugsch connects the name Tehuti (Thoth) with the old Egyptian word *tehu*, "ibis," and he believes that it means the "being who is like an ibis." The word *tex* also means "to measure," "to compute," "to weigh"; and as this god is called "the counter of the heavens and the stars, and of all that therein is," the connexion of the name Thoth with *tex* is evident. Bronze and *faïence* figures of the god represent him with the head of an ibis, and holding an *utchat* in his hands (see Nos. 481, 490a, and 11,385 in the British Museum). The *utchat*, or eye of the sun, has reference to the belief that Thoth brought back each morning the light of the sun which had been removed during the night.

3. The palettes of the Egyptian scribe were rectangular, and were made of wood, stone, basalt, ivory (see Nos. 5512a, 5513, 5525a, and 12,779, etc., in the British Museum). They measure from 10 to 17 inches in length, and from 2 to 3 inches in width. They usually contain two round cavities to hold red and black ink, and a groove to hold the reed-pens. The inscriptions on them, which usually have reference to Thoth, are cut, or written in ink, or inlaid in colour; the name of the owner of the palette is generally added. The colours with which the Egyptians wrote were made of vegetable substances, coloured earths, and preparations of copper.

4 She is also called "Devourer of Amenta" (i.e., the underworld), and Shai (see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 129). In the British Museum papyrus No. 9901 she is described as *hat en emsuh; pehu-s em tebt her-ab-set em ma* "the fore-part of a crocodile; her hind-quarters are those of a hippopotamus; her middle part [is that] of a lion."

{footnote p. 258} The Devourer usually stands near the balance instead of behind Thoth; but there is one papyrus quoted by Naville, (Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 136) in which she is shown crouching beside the lake of fire in the infernal regions.



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Text: [Chapter XXXB.] Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith:[1] "My heart my mother, my heart my mother, my heart my coming into being! May there be nothing to resist me at [my] judgment; may there be no opposition to me from the *Tchatcha*;[2] may there be no parting

of thee from me in the presence of him who keepeth the scales! Thou art my *ka* within my body [which] knitteth[3] and strengtheneth my limbs. Mayest thou come forth to the place of happiness to which[4] I am advancing. "May the *Shenit*[5] not cause my name to stink, and may no lies be spoken against me in the presence of the god![6] Good is it for thee to hear."[7] . . . .

Thoth, the righteous judge of the great company of the gods who are in the presence of the god Osiris, saith: "Hear ye this judgment. The heart of Osiris hath in very truth been weighed, and his soul hath stood as a witness for him; it hath been found true by trial in the Great Balance. There hath not been found any wickedness in him; he hath not wasted the offerings in the temples; he hath not done harm by his deeds; and he uttered no evil reports while he was upon earth."

The great company of the gods reply to Thoth dwelling in Khemennu: "That which cometh forth from thy mouth hath been ordained. Osiris, the scribe

[1. Ani's speech forms the text of Chapter XXXB. as numbered by M. Naville (*Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 43).

2. The four gods of the cardinal points, Mestha, Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf (see Naville, *Todtenbuch Einleitung*, p. 164).

Some copies read, "Thou art my *ka* within my body, the god Khnemu (*i.e.*, "Moulder"), who uniteth (or formeth) and strengtheneth my limbs." Khnemu was called "builder of men, maker of the gods, the father from the beginning; creator of things which are," etc.

4 British Museum papyrus No. 9901 has "place of happiness to which thou goest with me."

5 A class of divine beings.

6 *I.e.*, "the great god, lord of Amenta."

7. This sentence appears to be unfinished; see the Egyptian text, p. 12.]

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Ani, triumphant, is holy and righteous. He hath not sinned, neither hath he done evil against us. Let it not be given to the devourer Amemet to prevail over him. Meat-offerings and entrance into the presence of the god Osiris shall be granted unto him, together with a homestead for ever in Sekhet-hetepu, as unto the followers of Horus."

PLATE IV.

Vignette: Ani, found just, is led into the presence of Osiris. On the left the hawk-headed god Horus, the son of Isis, wearing the double crown of the North and the South, takes Ani by the hand and leads him forward towards "Osiris, the lord of eternity" *Ausar neb t'etta*, who is enthroned on the right within a shrine in the form of a funereal chest. The god wears the *atef* crown with plumes;

a *menat* (see p. 245, note 2) hangs from the back of his neck; and he holds in his hands the crook, sceptre, and flail, emblems of sovereignty and dominion. He is wrapped in bandages ornamented with scale work. The side of his throne is painted to resemble the doors of the tomb. Behind him stand Nephthys on his right hand and Isis on his left. Facing him, and standing on a lotus flower, are the four "children of Horus (*or* Osiris)," or gods of the cardinal points. The first, Mestha, has the head of a man; the second, Hapi, the head of an ape; the third, Tuamautef, the head of a jackal; and the fourth, Qebhsennuf, the head of a hawk. Suspended near the lotus is an object which is usually called a panther's skin,[1] but is more probably a bullock's hide.

The roof of the shrine is supported on pillars with lotus capitals, and is surmounted by a figure of Horus-Sept or Horus-Seker and rows of uræi.

In the centre Ani kneels before the god upon a reed mat, raising his right hand in adoration, and holding in his left hand the *kherp* sceptre. He wears a whitened wig surmounted by a "cone," the signification of which is unknown. Round his neck is a deep collar of precious stones. Near him stands a table of offerings of meat, fruit, flowers, etc., and in the compartments above are a number

of vessels for wine, beer, oil, wax, etc., together with bread, cakes, ducks, a wreath, and single flowers.

[1. On the bullock's hide, in which the deceased, or the person who represented him, was supposed to wrap himself, see Virey, *Tombeau de Rekhmara*, p. 50, and plate 26, lower register.]

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Appendix: The shrine is in some instances represented in the shape of a pylon, the cornice of which is ornamented either with uræi, or with the disk of the sun and feathers, emblematic of Maat. It usually rests upon a base made in the shape of a cubit, The throne upon which Osiris sits is placed upon reed mats (British Museum papyrus No. 10,471), or upon the cubit-shaped base, or in a pool of water, from which springs a lotus flower with buds and having the four gods of the cardinal points (see British Museum papyrus No. 9901) standing upon it. In some of the



oldest papyri the body of Osiris is painted white, and he stands upright. Isis is described as "great lady, divine mother," and Nephthys as "the mistress of the underworld." In British Museum papyrus No. 10471 the scene of the presentation of the deceased to Osiris is unusual and of interest. On the right the scribe Nekht and his wife Thuau stand with both hands raised in adoration of Osiris. Behind them, upon a cubit-shaped base, is a house with four windows in its upper half, and upon the roof two triangular projections similar to those which admit air into modern houses in the East. Before the door are a sycamore (?) tree and a palm tree, with clusters of fruit; on the left is the god Osiris on his throne, and behind him stands "Maat, mistress of the two countries, daughter of Ra," above whom are two outstretched female arms proceeding from a mountain and holding a disk between the hands. In the centre, between Osiris and the deceased, is a pool of water with three sycamore (?) trees on each side, and at each corner a palm tree bearing clusters of dates; and from it there springs a vine laden with bunches of grapes.

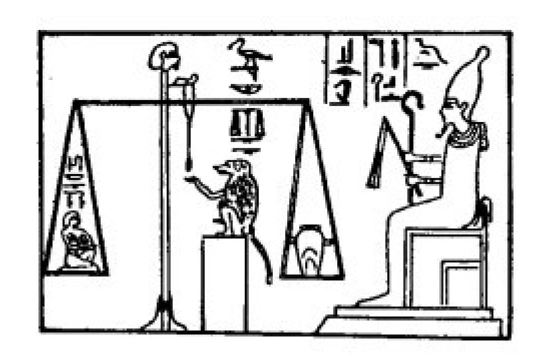
In British Museum papyrus No. 10,472 the god seated in the shrine wears the crown of the god Tanen, and is called "Ptah-Seker-Ausar, within the hidden place, great god, lord of Ta-sert, king of eternity, prince of the everlasting."

Text: Saith Horus, the son of Isis: "I have come unto thee, O Unnefer, and I have brought the Osiris Ani unto thee. His heart is [found] righteous coming forth from the balance, and it hath not sinned against god or goddess. Thoth hath weighed it according to the decree uttered unto him by the company {p. 261} of the gods; and it is very true and righteous. Grant him cakes and ale; and let him enter into the presence of Osiris; and may he be like unto the followers of Horus for ever."

Behold, Osiris Ani saith: "O Lord of Amentet (the underworld), I am in thy presence. There is no sin in me, I have not lied wittingly, nor have I done aught with a false heart. Grant that I may be like unto those favoured ones who are round about thee, and that I may be an Osiris, greatly favoured of the beautiful god and beloved of the lord of the world, [I] the royal scribe indeed, who loveth him Ani, triumphant before the god Osiris."

Appendix: The usual title of this chapter [XXXB.] is, "Chapter of not allowing the heart of [the deceased] to be driven away from him in the underworld."[1] it is an address by the deceased to his own heart, which he calls his *ka* or "double" within his body. It should be accompanied by a vignette of the trial of the heart

in which the heart is weighed against the dead man himself, as in the ancient Nebseni papyrus.



In the Ani papyrus, however, it will be observed that the heart is being weighed against the feather of the Law, Maat, a scene which often accompanies Chapter CXXV.

Interesting variants of the vignettes of Chapter XXXB. are given by Naville (*Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 43), where we find the deceased addressing either his heart placed on a stand, or a beetle, or a heart to which are attached the antennæ of a beetle. In certain papyri this chapter is followed by a rubric:--"[This chapter is] to be said over a scarab[2] of green stone encircled with *smu* metal, and [having] a ring of silver, which is to be placed upon the neck of the dead. This chapter was found in Khemennu.[3]

[1. ###

2. Chapter XXXA. is never found inscribed upon scarabs.

3. *I.e.*, Hermopolis Magna, the metropolis of Un, the 15th nome of Upper Egypt, the city

called ### by the Copts, and Eshmûnên, ### by the Arabs. It was the abode of the "eight" (*xemennu*) great primeval gods, and of Thoth, the scribe of the gods. (See Meyer and Dümichen,*Geschichte des alten Agyptens*, p. 185.)]

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written upon a slab of steel of the South, in the writing of the god himself, under the feet of the majesty of the god, in the time of the majesty of Men-kau-Ra,[1] the king of the North and of the South, triumphant, by the royal son Heru-tata-f[2] who found it while he was journeying to inspect the temples."[3]

The scarabs which are found in the mummies, or lying upon the breast just above the position of the heart, form an interesting section of every large Egyptian collection. In the British Museum series every important type of the funereal scarab is represented. They are made of green basalt, green granite (Nos. 7894 and 15,497), white limestone (Nos. 7917, 7927, 15,508), light green marble (No. 7905), black stone (Nos. 7907, 7909, 7913), blue paste (Nos. 7904, 14,549), blue glass (No. 22,872), and purple, blue, or green glazed *faïence* (Nos. 7868, 7869). They vary in size from 5 inches to 2 inches in length. On the hard stone examples the text of the Chapter of the Heart, more or less complete, is usually cut on the base in outline; but it is sometimes traced in red ink (No. 7915), or in gold (No. 15,518). Incuse hieroglyphics are sometimes

filled with gold (No. 7881). The name of the person with whom the scarab was buried usually precedes the text of the Chapter of the Heart; but in many instances blank spaces are found left without insertion of the name--a proof that i, these amulets were bought ready-made. The base however is often quite plan (Nos. 7965, 7966), or figures of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys occupy the place of the usual inscription (Nos. 15,500, 15,507). The backs of scarabs are generally quite plain, but we find examples inscribed with figures of the boat of the Sun Osiris, with flail and crook the *bennu* bird, and the *u'tat* (No. 7883), Ra and Osiris (No. 15,507), and the *bennu* bird with the inscription *neteri ab en Ra*, "the mighty heart of Ra" (No. 7878). A finehard, green stone scarab of the Greek or Roman period has upon the back the figures of four Greek deities (No. 7966). In rare instances, the beetles have a human face (Nos. 7876, 15,516) or head (No. 7999). Carefully made scarabs have usually a band of gold across and down the back where the wings join: an example of the late period (No. 7977) has the whole of the back gilded. The scarab was set in a gold oval ring, at one end of which was a smaller ring for suspension from the neck or for attachment to the bandages of the mummy (No. 15,504). The green glazed *faïence* scarab of Thothmes III. (No. 18,190) was suspended by a gold chain from a bronze torque. A thick gold wire to fit

the neck is attached to No. 24,401. The base of the scarab is sometimes in the form of a heart (Nos. 7917, 7925). A remarkable example of this variety is No. 7925, in which are

[1. The fifth king of the IVth dynasty.

2. This prince is said to have been a very learned man, whose speech was difficult to be understood (see Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*., p. 191).

3. For the hieroglyphic text, see pp. 13-15. This rubric was published by Birch, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, p. 54; and by Rosellini, *Breve Notizia interno un frammento di Papiro funebre Egizio essistente nel ducale museo di Parma*; Parma, 1839, 8vo.]

the emblems of "life," "stability," and "protection," engraved on the upper part of the base. Across the back of this scarab is -- ###;[1] On the right wing:-- ### and on the left ###[2]. A highly polished, fine green basalt scarab with human face (No. 7876) is set in a gold base, upon the face and edges of which are cut part of the Chapter of the Heart. At a period subsequent to the XXIInd dynasty inscribed funereal scarabs in marble, paste, etc., were set in pylon-shaped pectorals made of Egyptian porcelain, glazed blue, green, or yellow, which were sewed to the mummy bandages over the heart. On such pectorals the boat of the Sun is either traced in colours or worked in relief, and the scarab is placed

so as to appear to be carried in the boat; on the left stands Isis, and on the right Nephthys (Nos. 7857, 7864, 7866).

PLATES V. AND VI.

Vignettes: The funereal procession to the tomb; running the length of the two plates. In the centre of Plate V. the mummy of the dead man is seen lying in a chest or shrine mounted on a boat with runners, which is drawn by oxen. In the boat, at the head and foot of the mummy, are two small models of Nephthys and Isis. By the side kneels Ani's wife Thuthu, lamenting. In front of the boat is the *Sem* priest burning incense in a censer,[3] and pouring out a libation from a vase; he wears his characteristic dress, a panther's skin. Eight mourners follow. one of whom has his hair whitened. In the rear a sepulchral ark or chest[4] surmounted. by a figure of Anubis and ornamented with emblems of "protection" and "stability," is drawn on a sledge by four attendants, and is followed by two others. By their side walk other attendants carrying Ani's palette, boxes, chair, couch, staff, etc.

In Plate VI. the procession is continued up to the tomb. In the centre is a

[1. "Thou goest forth over heaven in three-fold peace [in] thy sektet boat; when thou showest thy face . . . . thee."

2. "He giveth to thee thine eyes to see therewith, and thine cars [to hear therewith]."

3. For a bronze censer similar in shape, see No. 5296 a, Fourth Egyptian Room.

4. It is similar in shape to the chests which held the four jars containing the mummied intestines of the deceased. For examples of them see Nos. 8543a, 8543b in the Third Egyptian Room.]

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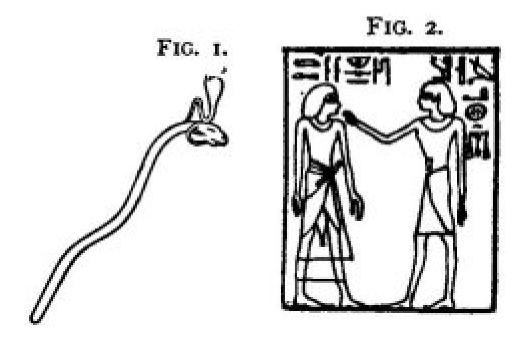
group of wailing women, followed by attendants carrying on yokes boxes of flowers, vases of unguents, etc. In the right centre are a cow with her calf, chairs of painted wood with flowers upon them, and an attendant with shaven head, carrying a haunch, newly cut, for the funereal feast. The group on the right is performing the last rites. Before the door of the tomb stands the mummy of Ani to receive the final honours; behind him, embracing him, stands Anubis, the god of the tomb; and at his feet, in front, kneels Thuthu to take a last farewell of her husband's body. Before a table of offerings stand two priests: the *Sem* priest, who wears a panther's skin, holding in his right hand a libation vase, and in his left a censer; and a priest holding in his right hand an instrument[1] with which he is about to touch the mouth and eyes of the mummy, and in his left the instrument for "opening the mouth."[2] Behind or beside them on the ground, in a row, lie the instruments employed in the ceremony of "opening the mouth,"[2]

etc., the *mesxet* instrument, the sepulchral box, the boxes of purification, the bandlet, the libation vases, the ostrich feather and the instruments called *Seb-ur*, *Temanu* or *Tun-tet*, and the *Pesh-en-kef*. The *Kher-heb* priest stands behind reading the service of the dead from a papyrus.

Appendix: In the papyrus of Hunefer a slab or stele with rounded top is placed by the door of the tomb (Fig. 1, p. 265). In the upper part of it the deceased is shown adoring Osiris, and below is the legend,[3] "Hail, Osiris, the chief of Amenta, the lord of eternity,

[1. This instrument is called ### *ur hekau*, and is made of a sinuous piece of wood, one end of which is in the form of a ram's head surmounted by a uræus (Fig. 1).

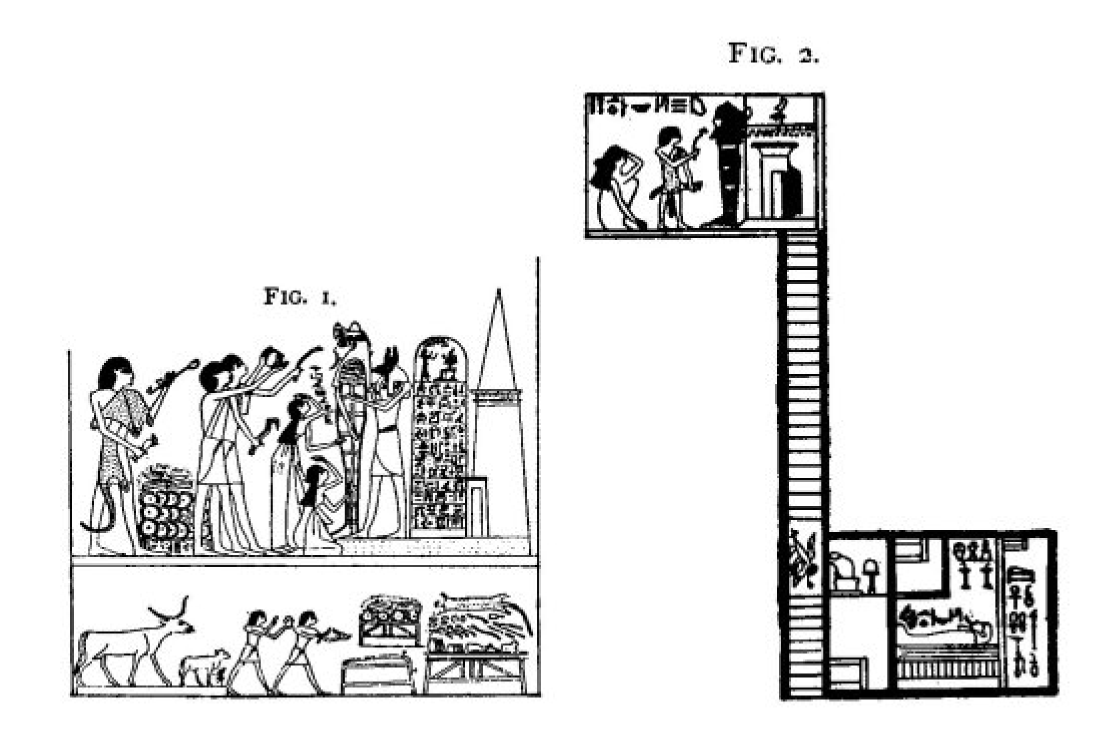
2. In the Neb-seni papyrus the "Guardian of the Scale" opens the mouth of the deceased (Fig. 2).


FIG. 1. FIG. 2.

3. ###.]

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spreading out in everlastingness, lord of adorations, chief of the company of his gods; and hail, Anubis [dweller] in the tomb, great god, chief of the holy dwelling. May they grant that I may go into and come out from the underworld, that I may follow Osiris in all his festivals at the beginning of the year, that I may receive cakes, and that I may go forth into the presence of [Osiris]; I, the double (*ka*) of Osiris, the greatly favoured of his god, Hu-nefer." In the upper register of this section of the papyrus is the text of the "Chapter of opening the mouth of the statue of Osiris." The complete scene, including this stele and vignette, appears in the tomb of Pe-ta-Amen-Apt. In the vignette of the first chapter of the Book of the Dead in the papyrus of Neb-qet[1] the soul of the deceased is represented descending the steps of the tomb to carry food to its mummy in the underground chamber (Fig. 2).


FIG. 1.
FIG. 2.

The ceremonies[2] which took place at the door of the tomb in an Egyptian funeral are of considerable interest. The priest called *Kher-heb*, holding the *Sem*priest by the arm, gives directions for the slaughter of "a bull of the South." The slaughterer, standing on the bull, cuts off a fore-leg (Fig. 3) and takes out the heart. A woman, called the *Tcherauur*, who personifies Isis, then whispers in the deceased's ear, "Behold, thy lips are set in order for thee, so that thy mouth may be opened." Next, an antelope[3] and a duck[4]

[1. Devéria and Pierret, *Papyrus Funéraire de Neb-set*, plate 3.

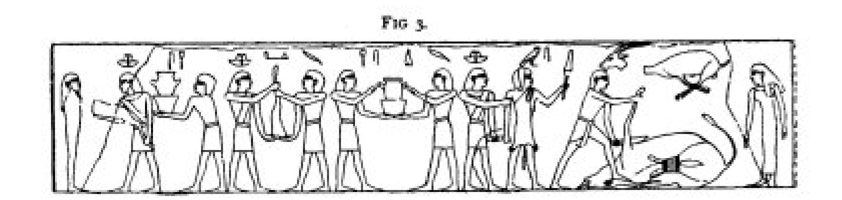
2. The following description of them is based upon the chapters on this subject in Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, Abth. ii I, plates x ff., pp. 3 ff.

3. ### *ari*.

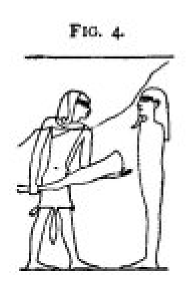
4. ### *smennu*.]

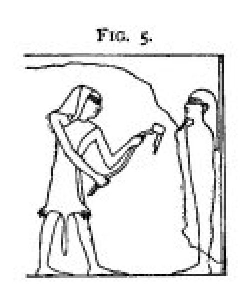
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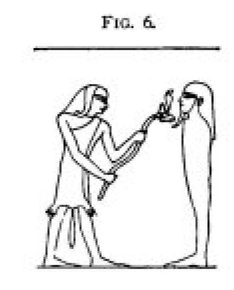
are brought by order of the *Kher-heb*, and their heads are cut off.[1] The *Kher-heb* then addresses the *Sem* priest: "I have seized them for thee, I have brought unto thee thine enemies. His hands bring his head [as] his gift. I have slain them for thee, O Tmu; let not his enemies rise up against this god." The slaughterer then presents the thigh to the *Kher-heb*, and the heart to an official whose title was *Smer*, and all three then "place the thigh and the heart upon the ground before this god" (*i.e.*, Osiris). The *Kher-heb* then says to the deceased, represented by his mummy or statue: I have brought unto thee the thigh (Fig. 4) as the Eye of Horus. I have brought unto thee the heart; let there be no rising up against this god. I have



brought unto thee the antelope, his head is cut off; I have brought unto thee the duck, his head is cut off." Here the sacrifice ends.







The next part of the ceremony, *i.e.*, "the opening of the mouth and eyes," is performed by the *Sem* priest, who addresses the deceased: "I have come to embrace thee, I am thy son Horus, I have pressed thy mouth; I am thy son, I love thee. His mother beats her breast and weeps for him, and those who are in chains with him (*i.e.*, Isis and Nephthys) beat their breasts. Thy mouth was closed, but I have set in order for

[1. The slaughter of the antelope and duck typified the destruction of the enemies of the deceased; for, when Horus destroyed the enemies of his father Osiris, "he cut off their heads [which took] the form of ducks in the sky, making them to fall headlong to the ground in the form of antelopes, and into the water in the form of fishes," For the text, see Schiaparelli,. *Il Libro dei Funerali degli Antichi Egiziani* (in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*; Rome, 1883 and 1890), p. 94; Naville, *Todtenbuch*, chap. 134.]

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"thee thy mouth[1] and thy teeth." The *Kher-heb* next calls on the *Sem* priest four times: "O *Sem*, take the *Seb-ur*[2] (Fig. 5) and open the mouth and the eyes"; and while the *Sem* priest is performing the ceremony the *Kher-heb* continues: "Thy mouth was closed, but I have set in order for thee thy mouth and thy teeth. I open for thee thy mouth, I open for thee thy two eyes. I have

opened for thee thy mouth with the instrument of Anubis. I have opened thy mouth with the instrument of Anubis, with the iron tool with which the mouths of the gods were opened. Horus, open the mouth, Horus, open the mouth. Horus hath opened the mouth of the dead, as he whilom opened the mouth of Osiris, with the iron which came forth from Set, with the iron tool (Fig. 6) with which he opened the mouths of the gods. He hath opened thy mouth with it. The dead shall walk and shall speak, and his body shall [be] with the great company of the gods in the Great House of the Aged one in Annu, and he shall receive there the *ureret* crown from Horus, the lord of mankind." The *Kher-heb* next says: "Let the *Ami-Khent* priest (Fig. 7) stand behind him (*i.e.*, the deceased), and say, 'My father, my father,' four times." The eldest son of the deceased then stands behind the deceased, and in his

FIG. 7.

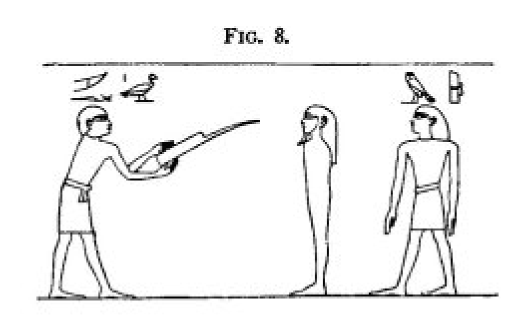


FIG. 8.

name the *Kher-heb* says: "His mother beateth her breast and weepeth for him, and those who are in chains with him also beat their breasts." Another priest, called*Am-Khent-Heru*, takes up the same position and says: "Isis goeth unto Horus, who embraceth his father." A priestly official belonging to the *mesenti* class then goes behind the deceased, and the *Sem*, *Smer* and *Kher-heb* priests stand in front, and the *Sem* priest and the *Kher-heb*, personifying Horus and Sut, respectively cry: "I am Horus, I am Sut; I will not let thee illumine the head of my father." The *Sem* priest then leaves the *Ka*-chapel and returns, leading in the *Se-mer-f*, *i.e.*, "the son who loveth him"; whereupon the *Kher-heb* says: "O Sem, let the *Se-mer-f* come into the tomb in order that he may see the god." The *Sem* priest holding him by the arm then leads forward the *Se-mer-f*, who addresses the deceased: "I have come, I have brought

[1. See Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali degli Antichi Egiziani*; Maspero, *Le Rituel du Sacrifice Funéraire* (in *Revue de L'Histoire des Religions*, 1887, p. 159 ff.).

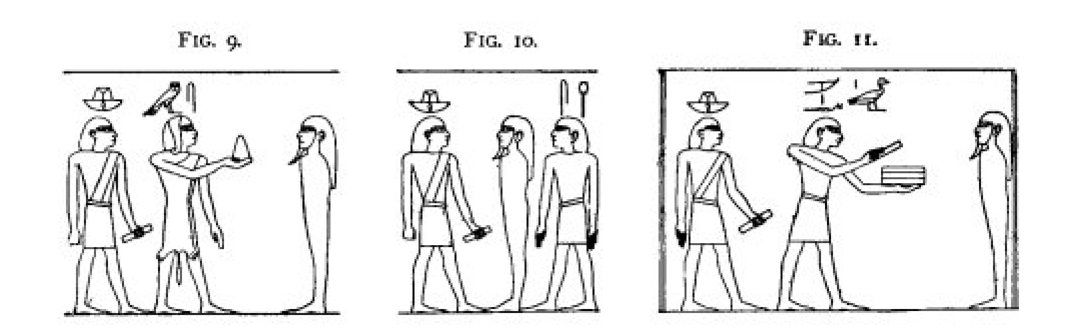
2. ###. For a complete list of these instruments, see Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali degli Antichi Egiziani*, p.109.]

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unto thee thy son who loveth thee; he shall open for thee thy mouth and thine eyes." (Fig. 8). A tomb-official, *Am-as*, then takes up

his position behind the deceased, and the *Se-mer-f* and the *Kher-heb* stand in front; the *Kher-heb* repeating four times: "The *Se-mer-f* openeth the mouth and the two eyes of the deceased, first with a needle of iron, then with a rod of *smu* metal"; the *Am-as* addressing the deceased: "Behold the *Se-mer-f*"; and the *Kher-heb* saying, in the name of the*Se-mer-f*: "I have pressed for thee thy mouth, even as thy father pressed it in the name of Seker. Hail, Horus hath pressed thy mouth for thee, he hath opened thine eyes for thee; Horus hath opened thy mouth for thee, he hath opened for thee thine eyes; they are firmly stablished. Thy mouth was closed; I have ordered thy mouth and thy teeth for thee in their true order. Thou hast [again] opened thy mouth; Horus hath opened thy mouth. I have stablished thy mouth firmly. Horus hath opened for thee thy mouth, Horus hath opened for thee thy two eyes." The *Kher-heb* then speaks on behalf of the *Sem* priest: "Thy mouth was closed up. I have ordered aright for thee thy mouth and thy teeth. Thy mouth is firmly stablished. Thy mouth was tightly closed. His mouth is firmly stablished, and [his] two eyes are firmly stablished." The *Sem* priest next presents to the deceased (Fig. 9) a cone-shaped offering,[2] and at the same time the *Kher-heb* says: "Open the mouth and the two eyes, open the mouth and the two eyes. Thou hadst tightly closed thy mouth, thou hast [again]

opened thy two eyes." Then the *Kher-heb* says, on behalf of the *Smer* (Fig. 10) priest who stands behind the deceased:


FIG. 9. FIG. 10. FIG. 11.

"One cometh unto thee for thy purification." Next the *Se-mer-f* comes forward with four boxes (Fig. 11) in his hands, and the *Kher-heb* says: "O *se-mer-f*, take the four boxes of purification, press the mouth and the two eyes, and open the mouth and the two eyes with each of them four times, and say, 'Thy mouth and thy two eyes are firmly stablished, and they are restored aright,' and say also, 'I have firmly pressed thy mouth, I have opened thy mouth, I have opened thy two eyes by means of the four boxes of purification."' The *Sem* priest then approaches

[1. ### *t'ettef*.

2. A large collection of such offerings is exhibited in the Third Egyptian Room.]

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the deceased (Fig. 12) with the instrument ###[1], and the *Kher-heb* at the same time says: "O *Sem* priest, lay the *pesh-en-kef*

upon his mouth, and say, 'I have stablished for thee thy two jaw-bones in thy face which was divided into two parts.'" The *Sem* priest next makes an offering of grapes (Fig. 13), the *Kher-heb*saying: "O *Sem* priest, place the grapes upon his mouth and say, 'He bringeth to thee the eye of Horus, he graspeth it; do thou also grasp it.'" After an ostrich feather has been offered (Fig. 14) by the *Sem* priest, and a number of the ceremonies described above have been repeated, and other animals slaughtered, the *Kher-heb* addresses the *Sem* priest, and says: "Take the instrument *Tun-tet*[2] (thrice) and open the mouth and the eyes" (four times). He then continues: "O *Sem* priest, take the iron instrument of Anubis, *Tun-tet* (thrice). Open the mouth and the two eyes (four times), and say, 'I open for thee thy mouth with the iron instrument of Anubis with which he opened the mouths of the gods. Horus openeth the mouth, Horus openeth the mouth,

FIG. 12.

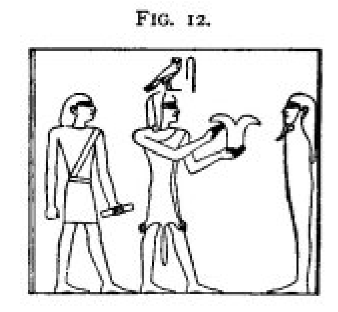


FIG. 13.

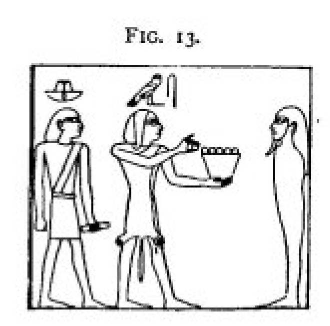
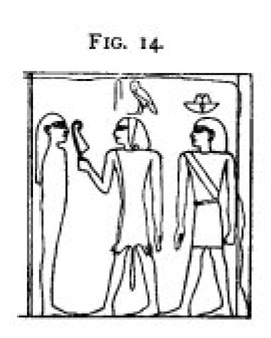


FIG. 14.



Horus openeth the mouth with the iron which cometh forth from Set, wherewith he hath opened the mouth of Osiris. With the iron tool

(*meskhet*) wherewith he opened the mouths of the gods doth he open the mouth. He [the deceased] shall go in and he shall speak [again], and his body shall dwell with the company of the great gods in Annu, wherein he hath received the *ureret* crown from Horus, lord of men. Hail, Horus openeth thy mouth and thy two eyes with the instrument *Seb-ur* or *Teman*,[3] with the instrument *Tun-tet* of the Opener of the Roads (*i.e.*, Anubis) wherewith he opened the mouth of all the gods of the North. Horus the Great[4] cometh to embrace thee. I, thy son who loveth thee, have opened thy mouth and thy two eyes. His mother beateth her breast in grief while she embraceth him, and the two sisters (*i.e.*, Isis and Nephthys), who are one, strike themselves in grief. All the gods open thy mouth according to the book of the service."' The *Kher-heb* next instructs the *Sem* priest to clothe the mummy or statue of the deceased with the *nemes*

[1. It is called *Pesh-en-kef*. See Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, Abth. I, pp. 18, 19.

2. ###.

3.###.

4 Heru-ur, the Heroeris of the Greeks.]

{p. 270}

band or fillet (Fig. 15), and to say: "Lo! the *nemes* fillet, the *nemes* fillet, which cometh as the light, which cometh as the light; it cometh as the eye of Horus, the brilliant; it cometh forth from Nekheb. The gods were bound therewith; bound round is thy face with it in its name of *Hetch* (*i.e.*, light, or brilliance), coming forth from Nekheb. "All that could do harm to thee upon earth is destroyed." The *Sem* priest, holding a vase of ointment in his left hand, and smearing the mouth with his fore-finger (Fig. 16), says: "I have anointed thy face with ointment, I have anointed thine eyes. I have painted thine eye with *uatch* and with *mestchem*. May no ill-luck happen through the dethronement of his two eyes in his body, even as no evil fortune came to Horus through the overthrow of his eye in his body. Thy two eyes are decked therewith in its name of *Uatch*, which maketh thee to give forth fragrance, in its name of "Sweet-smelling." A number of scented unguents and perfumes are brought forward, and at the presentation of each a short sentence is recited by the *Kher-heb* having reference to the final triumph of the deceased in the underworld and to the help which the great gods will render to him.

Fig. 15.

Fig. 16.

Text: [Chapter I.][2] (1) HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY,[3] AND OF THE SONGS OF PRAISE[4] AND (2) GLORIFYING,[4] AND OF COMING FORTH FROM AND GOING INTO THE GLORIOUS NETER-KHERT IN THE BEAUTIFUL

[1. ###.

2 The text accompanying Plates 5 and 6 represents Chapter I., Chapter XXII., and the Rubric of Chapter LXXII., of Lepsius's numeration.

3. In Egyptian *Per em hru*. This title has been translated and explained in various ways, as *e.g.*, "Coming forth from [or as] the Day" (Birch, in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, vol. v., p. 161) The departure from the-day" (Birch, *Papyrus of Nas-khem*, p. 3); "Sortir du jour" (Devéria, *Catalogue*; 1874, p. 49); "Sortir du jour" (Naville, *Einleitung*, p. 23); "Sortie de la journée" (Pierret, *Le Papyrus de Neb-Qed*; 1872, p. 2); "Ausgang bei Tage" (Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 155). Another fairly common title for the Book of the Dead is "Chapter of making perfect the blessed dead" (see Naville, *Einleitung*, pp. 24, 25).

4. For other examples of the use of the words *settes* and *sexu*, see Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 133, 1165.]

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AMENTA; TO BE SAID ON (3) THE DAY OF THE BURIAL: GOING IN AFTER COMING FORTH. Osiris Ani, (4) Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith: "Homage to thee, O bull of Amenta, Thoth the (5) king of eternity is with me. I am the great god in[1] the boat of the Sun; I have (6) fought for thee. I am one of the gods, those holy princes[2] who make Osiris (7) to be victorious over his enemies on the day of weighing of words.[3] (8) I am thy mediator, O Osiris. I am [one] of the gods (9) born of Nut, those who slay the foes of Osiris (10) and hold for him in bondage the fiend Sebau. I am thy mediator, O Horus. (11) I have fought for thee, I have put to flight the enemy for thy name's sake. I am Thoth, who have made (12) Osiris victorious over his enemies on the day of weighing of words in the (13) great House of the mighty Ancient One in Annu.[4] I am Tetteti,[5] the son of Tetteti; I was (14) conceived in Tattu, I was born in (15) Tattu.[6] I am with those who weep and with the women who bewail (16) Osiris in the double land (?) of Rechtet;[7] and I make Osiris to be victorious over his enemies. (17) Ra commanded Thoth to make Osiris victorious over his enemies; and that which was (18) bidden for me Thoth did. I am with Horus on the day of the clothing of (19) Teshtesh[9] and of the opening of the storehouses of water for the purification of the god whose heart moveth not, and (20) of the unbolting of the door of

concealed things in Re-stau.[10] I am with Horus who (21) guardeth the left shoulder of Osiris in

[1. The papyrus of Ani reads ### as do Pf, Pj, Pk, and Pl. See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd., I., Bl, p. 2.

2. *I.e.*, Mestha, Hapi, Tuamautef, Qebhsennuf, the gods of the cardinal points.

3. Compare the use of ### in 2 Samuel, iii. 13.

4. A name of the temple of Ra in Heliopolis. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 153.

5. *I.e.*, the god of Tettetu, or Busiris, a town which was believed to contain the body of Osiris.

6 See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 978.

7. The reading ### . . . . *Rextet* is given by British Museum papyrus No. 9964. See also Brugsch, *Dict. Géog*., p. 392.

8. The translation here follows the variant reading given by Pierret ### *utu en Ra er semaaxeru Ausar*. See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 139; and Le Livre des Morts, p. 10.

9. A name of Osiris. See Lanzone, Dizionario, p. 1262.

10. *I.e.*, "the door of the passages of the tomb." A picture of Re-stau ### is given on Plate VIII.]

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Sekhem,[1] and I (22) go into and come out from the divine flames[2] on the day of the destruction (23) of the fiends in Sekhem. I am with Horus on the day of the (24) festivals of Osiris, making the offerings on the sixth day of the festival,[3] [and on] the Tenat[4] festival in (25) Annu. I am a priest in Tattu, I Rere (?) in "the

temple of Osiris,[6] [on the day of] casting Up (26) the earth.[7] I see the things which are concealed in Re-stau. (27) I read from the book of the festival of the Soul [which is] in Tattu.[8] I am the *Sem*[9] priest (28), and I perform his course. I am the great chief of the work [10] on the day of the placing of the *hennu*

[1. Sekhem is the metropolis of ### or ### *Khens*, the Greek Letopolites, the 2nd nome of Lower Egypt; it is the ###, or ### of the Coptic writers, and was situated about twenty-five miles north of Memphis. According to a text at Edfu, the neck of Osiris, ### *maxaq*, was preserved there. The god Horus, under the form of a lion, was worshipped at Sekhem. See Brugsch,*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1879, pp. 33-36; Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 738; and De Rougé, *Géographie Ancienne*, p. 8.

2. The chief variants are ###, (see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II, Bl. 8.) On this passage see Devéria, *Aeg. Zeitschriff*, 1870, p. 60.

3. *I.e.*, the day of the festival of Osiris who is called "Lord of the Festival of the Sixth Day." A list of the festivals of the month is given by Brugsch, *Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du Calendrier*; Leipzig, 1864, plate iv.

4. *I.e.*, the festival on the 7th day of the month. See Brugsch, *op. cit.*, plate iv.

5. Var. ### *Tatau*.

6. The reading of the text is not usual. British Museum papyrus No. 9901 has, after *Tattu*, ### and according to this text we should read, "I am a priest in Tattu, exalting him that is upon the steps (Pierret, "degrés de l'initiation"); I am a prophet in Abtu on the day of casting up the earth."

7. According to Devéria (*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1870, p. 61), "casting up the earth" means the day of digging the grave.

8 Var. ### "The Ram, lord of Tattu," *i.e.*, Osiris.

9 Or *setem* ###, a priest of Ptah at Memphis.

10 ### *ur xerp ab* (or *hem*), the name of the chief priest of Ptah at Memphis (see Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, Supp., p. 392; and Brugsch, *Aegytologie*, p. 218). The position of this official is described by Maspero, *Un Manuel de Hiérarchie Étgyptienne*, p. 53. The title was in use in the earliest times (see De Rougé, *Six Premières Dynasties*, pp. 110, 111).]

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boat of Seker (29) upon its sledge.[1] I have grasped the spade[2] (30) on the day of digging the ground in Suten-henen.[3] O ye who make (31) perfected souls to enter into the Hall of Osiris, may ye cause the perfected soul of Osiris, the scribe (32) Ani, victorious [in the Hall of Double Truth], to enter with you into the house of Osiris. May he hear as ye hear; may he (33) see as ye see; may he stand as ye stand; may he sit as (34) ye sit![4]

"O ye who give bread and ale to perfected souls in the Hall of (35) Osiris, give ye bread and ale at the two seasons to the soul of Osiris Ani, who is (36) victorious before all the gods of Abtu, and who is victorious with you.

"(37) O ye who open the way and lay open the paths to perfected souls in the Hall of (38) Osiris, open ye the way and lay open the paths (39) to the soul of Osiris, the scribe and steward of all the divine offerings, Ani (40) [who is triumphant] with you. May he enter in with a bold heart and may he come forth in peace from the house of Osiris. May he not (41) be rejected, may he not

be turned back, may he enter in [as he] pleaseth, may he come forth [as he] (42) desireth, and may he be victorious. May his bidding be done in the house of Osiris; may he (43) walk, and may he speak with you, and may he be a glorified soul along with you.[5] He hath not been found wanting (44) there,[6] and the Balance is rid of [his] trial."[6]

Appendix: After the First Chapter M. Naville has printed in his *Todtenbuch* the text of a composition which also refers to the funeral, and which he has designated Chapter 1B. It is entitled "Chapter of making the

[1. The day of the festival of Seker was celebrated in the various sanctuaries of Egypt at dawn, "at the moment when the sun casts its golden rays upon the earth." The *hennu* boat was drawn round the sanctuary (see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pp. 1117-1119.). The Serapeum was called *Pa-hennu*.

2. M. Pierret renders, "Je reçois l'office de laboureur," but the variants given by M. Naville show that some digging instrument is intended.

3 *I.e.*, *Het-suten-henen*, the Heracleopolis Magna of the Greeks, the ### of the Copts, and ### of the Arabs. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 601.

4. British Museum papyrus No. 9901 adds, "in the Temple of Osiris."

5. *I.e.*, in the Hall of Double Truth.

6. For a translation of the remainder of the chapter according to the Saïtic recension, see Pierret, *Le Livre des Morts*, pp. 7, 8.]

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mummy to go into the underworld on the day of the funeral." The text is, however, mutilated in places; and the following version has been made by the help of the two copies of the text published by Pleyte, *Chapitres Supplémentaires au Livre des Morts*, p. 182 ff.; and by Birch, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1885, p. 84 f.

[Chapter IB.] " Homage to thee,[1] O thou who livest in Set-Sert of Amenta. Osiris the scribe Nekht-Amen, triumphant, knoweth thy name. Deliver thou him from the worms which are in Re-stau, and which feed upon the bodies of men and drink their blood. Osiris, the favoured one of his divine city, the royal scribe Nekht-Amen, triumphant, is known unto you [ye worms] and he knoweth your names. This is the first bidding of Osiris, the Lord of All, who hath completed all his hidden works: 'Give thou breath [unto them] who fear those who are in the Bight of the Stream of Amenta.' He hath ordered the plans of . . . . His throne is placed within the darkness, and there is given unto him glory in Re-stau. O god of light, come thou down unto me and swallow up the worms which are in Amenta, The great god who dwelleth within Tattu, whom he seeth not, heareth his prayers. They who are in affliction fear him [the god] who cometh forth with the sentence at the sacred block. Osiris, the royal scribe Nekht-Amen, cometh with the decree of the Lord of All, and Horus hath taken possession of his throne

for him. He cometh with tidings; [may he enter in] according to his word and may he see Annu. The nobles have stood up on the ground before him, and the scribes magnify him. The princes bind his swathings, and make festivals for him in Annu. For him hath heaven been led captive; he hath seized the inheritance of the earth in his grasp. Neither heaven nor earth can be taken away from him, for, behold, he is Ra, the first-born of the gods. His mother suckleth him, she giveth her breast from the sky."

[*Rubric*.] The words of this chapter are to be said after [the deceased] is laid to rest in Amenta, etc.

Text: [Chapter XXII.][2] (1) CHAPTER OF GIVING A MOUTH (2) TO OSIRIS ANI, THE SCRIBE AND TELLER OF THE HOLY OFFERINGS OF ALL THE GODS. MAY HE BE VICTORIOUS IN NETER-KHERT! (3) "I rise out of the egg in the hidden land. May my mouth be given (4) unto me that I may speak with it before the great god, the lord of the underworld. (5) May my hand and my arm not be forced back by the holy (6) ministers of any god. I am Osiris, the lord of the mouth of the tomb; and Osiris, the victorious scribe Ani, hath a portion 3 with him (7) who is upon the

[1. The god addressed is Anubis, who in the vignette is shown standing by the bier.

2 The Nebseni papyrus here has a vignette in which the "Guardian of the Balance" is shown touching the mouth of the deceased. In other instances the deceased touches his own mouth.

3 The Nebseni papyrus has: "Osiris, lord of Re-stau, is the being who is on the top of the steps," The Ani papyrus incorrectly reads "his top."]

top of the steps. According to the desire of my heart, I have come from the Pool of Fire,[1] and I have quenched it. (8) Homage to thee,[2] O thou lord of brightness, thou who art at the head[3] of the Great House, and who dwellest in night (9) and in thick darkness; I have come unto thee. I am glorious, I am pure; my arms (10) support thee. Thy portion shall be with those who have gone before. O grant unto me my mouth that I may speak (11) therewith; and that I may follow my heart when it passeth through the fire and darkness."[4]

[*Rubric of Chapter* LXXII.] (I). If this writing be (2) known [by the deceased] upon earth, and this chapter be done into writing upon [his] coffin, he shall come forth by (3) day in all the forms of existence which he desireth, and he shall enter into [his] place and shall not be rejected. (4) Bread and ale and meat shall be given unto Osiris, the scribe Ani, upon the altar of Osiris. He shall (5) enter into the Fields of Aaru in peace, to learn the bidding of him who dwelleth in Tattu; (6) there shall wheat and

barley be given unto him; there shall he flourish as he did upon (7) earth; and he shall do whatsoever pleaseth him, even as [do] the gods who are in the underworld, (8) for everlasting millions of ages, world without end.

Appendix: The text of Chapter LXXII. does not occur in the Papyrus of Ani. It is given by M. Naville (see *Todtenbuch*, I., Bl. 84) from, a papyrus in the Louvre. In the vignettes which accompany it, the deceased is represented as adoring three gods, who are either standing in a shrine or are seated upon it. In other instances, the deceased stands by a sepulchral chest or outside a pylon with hands raised in adoration. The following is a translation of the Louvre text:--

(1) CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AND OF PASSING THROUGH THE AMMAHET. (2) "Homage to you, O ye lords of *kas*, ye lords of right and truth, infallible, who shall endure for ever and shall exist through countless ages, grant that (3) 1 may enter into your [presence]. I, even I, am pure and holy, and I have gotten power over the spells which are mine. judgment (4) hath been passed

[1. A variant gives the reading ### (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. IL, Bl. 84). For the situation of the pool, see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog*, p. 359.

2 The following lines of text form the XXIst chapter of the Saïte recension of the Book of the Dead. See Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, plate xiv.; and Pierret, *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 91.

3 Compare ###.

4 The chapter which Lepsius has numbered XXIII., as being most closely connected with the XXIInd chapter, and which refers to the opening of the mouth of the deceased, follows on Plate XV.]

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upon me in my glorified form. Deliver ye me from the crocodile which is in the place of the lords of right and truth. Grant ye unto me (5) my mouth that I may speak therewith. May offerings be made unto me in your presence, for I know you and I know your names, and I know (6) the name of the great god. Grant ye abundance of food for his nostrils. The god Rekem passeth through the western horizon of heaven. He (7) travelleth on, and I travel on he goeth forth, and I go forth. Let me not be destroyed in the place Mesqet let not the Fiend get the mastery over me; let me not be driven back from your gates; (8) let not your doors be shut against me; for I have [eaten] bread in Pe and I have drunken ale in Tepu. If my arms be fettered in the (9) holy habitation, may my father Tmu stablish for me my mansion in the place above [this] earth where there are wheat and barley in abundance which cannot be told. May feasts be made for me there, for my soul and for my (10) body. Grant me even offerings of the dead, bread, and ale, and wine, oxen, and ducks, linen bandages and incense, wax, and all the good and fair and pure things whereby the gods do live. May I rise again

in all the forms which (11) I desire without fail and for ever. May I sail up and down through the fields of Aaru; may I come thither in peace; for I am the double Lion-god."

PLATES VII.-X.

Vignette: The vignette of these plates, forming one composition, runs along the top of the text. The subjects are:-

Plate VII. i. Ani and his wife in the *seh* hall;[1] he is moving a piece on a draught-board [2] (to illustrate lines 3 and 4 of the text).

2. The souls of Ani and his wife standing upon a pylon-shaped building. The hieroglyphics by the side of Ani's soul read *ba en Ausar*, "the soul of Osiris."

[1. In the papyrus of Hunefer the first scene in this vignette is composed of Amenta, and the signs ### and ###, emblematic of food and drink. On each side is a figure of the deceased, but that on the left faces to the left and that on the right faces to the right. (1) Compare also the variant from the papyrus of Mut-em-uaa. (2)

2. See page 281, note i.]

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3. A table of offerings, upon which are laid a libation vase, plants, and lotus flowers[1].

4. Two lions seated back to back and supporting the horizon, over which extends the sky. The lion on the right is called *Sef*, *i.e.*, "Yesterday," and that on the left *Tuau*, *i.e.*, "Tomorrow" (to illustrate lines 13-16).

5. The *bennu* bird,[2] and a table of offerings (to illustrate lines 26-30).

6. The mummy of Ani lying on a bier within a funereal shrine; the head and foot are Nephthys and Isis in the form of hawks. Beneath the bier are vases painted to imitate variegated marble or glass,[3] a funereal box, Ani's palette, etc.[4]

Plate VIII. I.[5] The god Heh "Millions of years," wearing the emblem of "years" (upon his head, and holding a similar object in his right hand; he is

[1. In many papyri a figure of the deceased, kneeling in adoration before the lions supporting the horizon, takes the place of the table of offerings. Here the artist probably intended to represent the souls of Ani and his wife making these offerings to the lion-gods.

2 The name of the sanctuary in which the *bennu* bird was worshipped was Het-bennu. Greek writers called this bird the phoenix, and the Egyptians considered it as a symbol of Osiris. In a text quoted by Brugsch (*Wörterbuch*, p. 397), it is said to have created itself. The *bennu* was also worshipped at Diospolis Parva in Upper Egypt; and it was asserted

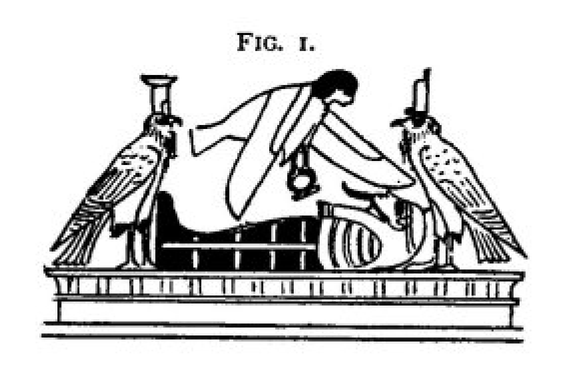
that the thigh of Osiris was preserved in one of its sanctuaries, and his phallus in another.

3 For examples of such vases see Nos. 4875, 4879, 4887, 9529, in the Fourth Egyptian Room.

4 In many papyri the soul of the deceased in the form of a human-headed bird is seen hovering over the dead body. (Fig. 1.)

6 The papyrus of Ani omits the two uræi which are referred to in lines 33-36. According to the papyrus of Hunefer (British Museum papyrus No. 9901) they represent the North and the South. (Fig. 2.)

FIG. I.



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kneeling and extends his left hand over a pool (?) in which is an eye (to illustrate line 46).

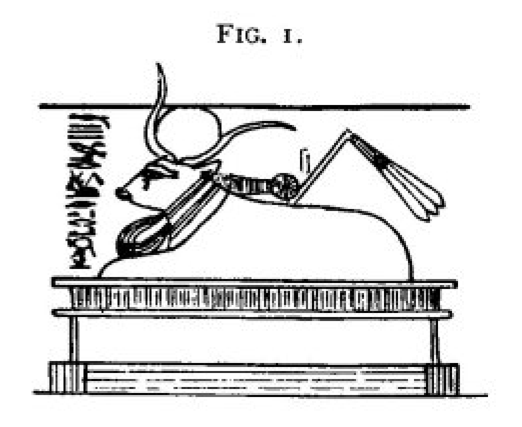
2. The god *Uatch-ura*, "Great Green Water," with each hand extended over a pool; that under his right hand is called *She en hesmen*, "Pool of Natron," and that under his left hand *She en Maaat*, "Pool of Nitre *or* Salt" (to illustrate lines 47-50).

3. A pylon with doors, called *Re-stau*, "Gate of the funereal passages" (to illustrate lines 56-58).

4. The *utchat* facing to the left above a pylon (to illustrate line 73).

5. The cow (Fig. 1) *Mehurt maat Ra*, "Mehurt, the eye of Ra," with a flail and having on her head a disk and horns and round her neck the collar and menat (to illustrate lines 75-79).[1]

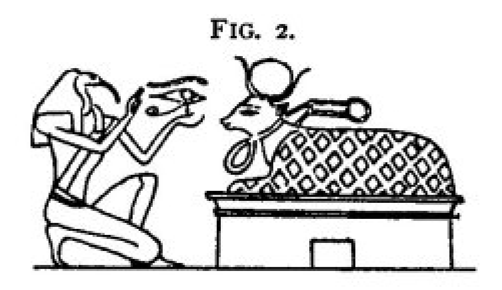
FIG. I.



6. A funereal chest from which emerge the head of Ra, and his two arms and hands, each holding the emblem of life. The chest, which is called *aat Abtu*, "the district of Abydos," or the "burial place of the East," has upon its side figures of the four children of

[1. In the papyrus of Hunefer (British Museum papyrus No. 9902) the god Thoth is represented offering the *utchat* to the *Mehurt* cow. (Fig. 2.)

FIG. 2.



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Horus who protect the intestines of Osiris or the deceased. On the right stand Tuamautef and Qebhsennuf, and on the left Mestha and Hapi (to illustrate lines 82, 83).

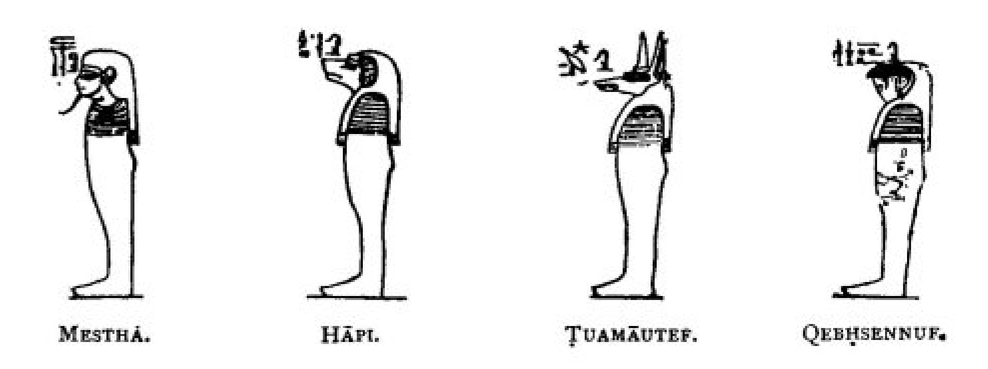


Plate IX. 1. Figures of three gods who, together with Mestha, Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf, are the "seven shining ones" referred to, in line 99. Their names are: Maa-atef-f, Kheri-beq-f, and Heru-khent-maati.

2. The god Anpu (Anubis), jackal-headed.

3. Figures of seven gods, whose names are Netchehnetcheh, Aaqetqet, Khenti-heh-f[1], Ami-unnut-f[2], Tesher-maa,[3], Bes-maa-em-kerh,[4] and An-em-hru[5] (to illustrate lines 99-106).

4. The soul of Ra, and the soul of Osiris in the form of a human-headed bird wearing the crown conversing in Tattu a scene of very rare occurrence, and illustrating lines 111, 112.



[1. *I.e.*, "He dwelleth in his flame."

2. *I.e.*, " He who is in his hour."

3. *I.e.*, " Red of both eyes."

4. *I.e.*, "Flame seeing in the night."

5. *I.e.*, " Bringing by day."]

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Plate X. I. The Cat, *i.e.*, the Sun, which dwelleth by the persea tree in Heliopolis, cutting off the head of the serpent Apepi, emblematic of his enemies.[1]

2. Three seated deities holding knives. They are probably Sau, Horus of Sekhem, and Nefer-Tmu.

3. Ani and his wife Thuthu, who holds a sistrum, kneeling in adoration before the god Khepera, beetle-headed, who is seated in the boat of the rising sun (to illustrate lines 116 ff.).

4. Two apes, emblematic of Isis and Nephthys (to illustrate lines 124, 125).

5. The god Tmu, seated within the Sun-disk in the boat of the setting sun, facing a table of offerings.

6. The god Rehu, in the form of a lion (to illustrate line 133).

7. The serpent Uatchit, the lady of flame, a symbol of the eye of Ra, coiled round a lotus flower. Above is the emblem of fire.

Text: [Chapter XVII.] (1.) HERE BEGIN THE PRAISES AND GLORIFYINGS[2] OF COMING OUT FROM AND GOING INTO (2) THE GLORIOUS NETER-KHERT IN THE BEAUTIFUL AMENTA, OF COMING OUT BY DAY[3] IN ALL THE FORMS OF EXISTENCE WHICH

[1. Compare the following variant from a papyrus in Dublin. In the papyrus of Hunefer, before the scene of the Cat cutting off Apepi's head, is one in which the deceased is represented kneeling in adoration before five ram-headed gods, whose names are Ra, Shu, Tefnut, Seb and Ba-[neb]-Tattu.

2. Pierret renders, résurrection des mânes." See *Le Livre des Morts*, p. 53.

3. Some copies read, "to be with the followers of Osiris, and to feed upon the food of Un-nefer, to come forth by day"; and others, "may I drink water at the sources of the streams, and be among the followers of Un-nefer; may I see the disk every morning." For the texts, see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Bl. 29.]

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PLEASE HIM (*i.e.*, THE DECEASED), OF PLAYING AT DRAUGHTS' AND SITTING IN THE (3) SEH HALL, AND OF COMING FORTH AS A LIVING SOUL.

Behold Osiris, the scribe Ani, after (4) he hath come to his haven [of rest]. That which hath been done upon earth [by Ani] being blessed, all (5) the words of the god Tmu come to pass. "I am the god Tmu in [my] rising;[2] I am the only One. I came into existence in Nu. (6) I am Ra who rose in the beginning. [He hath ruled that which he made.][3]"

(7) Who then is this? It is Ra who rose for the first time in the city of (8) Suten-henen[4] [crowned][5] as a king in [his] rising.[6] The pillars of Shu[7] were not as yet created, when he was upon the (9) high place of him who is in Khemennu.[8]

"I am the great god who gave birth to himself, even Nu, (10) [who] created his name *Paut Neteru*[9] as god."

Who then (11) is this? It is Ra, the creator of the name[s] of his limbs, which came into being (12) in the form of the gods in the train of Ra.

"I am he who is not driven back among the gods."

[1. For accounts of the way in which draughts were played by the Egyptians, see Birch, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1864, p. 56 ff.; Birch, in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 97; Birch, in Trans. Boy. Son Literature, New Series, vol. ix., p. 256; and Falkner, *Oriental Games*, London, 1892. The draught-board of the ancient Egyptians is often a rectangular wooden box, the top divided into squares, containing a drawer in which the men are kept (British Museum, No. 21,576). Draught-boards were also made of blue glazed *faïence*, and bone or ivory (British Museum, No. 21,577). The draughtsmen n are of wood, bone, ivory, glazed *faïence*, or stone, and have at times the heads of lions 1) (British Museum, Nos. 13,417,

21,580, 21,581); jackals (British Museum, Nos. 604*b*, 24,660-66); and of the god Bes (British Museum, Nos. 6413*c*, 24,667-75). No. 6414*a* is inscribed with the prenomen of Necho II.

2, *I.e.*, the Sun-god when he sets and rises.

3. Supplied from the Papyrus of Nebseni. See British Museum papyrus No. 9900; Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Pl. xxxi.

4 See *supra*, p. 273, note 3.

5. Adding ### or ### from the variant readings given by Naville.

6. Some papyri read *Unnu*; on this town, see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 146.

7. Shu was the son of Ra and Hathor and the twin-brother of Tefnut. He typified the sunlight, and separated the earth from the sky, which he established and supported. For a drawing of Shu and his four supports, see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, tav. 385.

8. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 749.

9. *I.e.*, " substance of the gods."]

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(13) Who then is this? It is Tmu in his disk, or (as others say), It is Ra in (14) his rising in the eastern horizon of heaven.

"I am Yesterday; I know (15) Tomorrow."

Who then is this? Yesterday is Osiris, and (16) Tomorrow is Ra, on the day when he shall destroy the (17) enemies of Neb-er-tcher, and when he shall stablish as prince and ruler (18) his son Horus, or (as others say), on the day when we commemorate the festival (19) of the meeting of the dead Osiris with his father Ra, and

when the battle of the (20) gods was fought in which Osiris, lord of Amentet, was the leader.

What then is this? (21) It is Amentet, [that is to say] the creation of the souls of the gods when Osiris was leader in Set-Amentet; or (22) (as others say), Amentet is that which Ra hath given unto me; when any god cometh, he doth arise and (23) doeth battle for it.

"I know the god who dwelleth therein."

(24) Who then is this? It is Osiris," or (as others say), Ra is his name, even Ra (25) the self-created.

"I am the *bennu*[1] bird (26) which is in Annu, and I am the keeper of the volume of the book of things[2] which are and of things which shall be."

Who (27) then is this? It is Osiris, or (as others say), It is his dead body, or (as others say), (28) It is his filth. The things which are are and the things which shall be are his dead body; or (as others say), (29) They are eternity and everlastingness. Eternity is the day, and everlastingness (30) is the night.

"I am the god Amsu[3] in his coming-forth; may his (31) two plumes be set upon my head."

[1. See above, p. 277, note 2.

2. Or, "I am he that presideth over the arrangement (or ordering) of things," etc. Birch renders it, "The Creator of beings and existences," and Pierret, "La loi de 1'existence et des êtres." In a hymn Ra is called *neb enti*, "lord of things which are," and *ari enti*, "maker of things which are," and *ari unenet*, "maker of things which shall be." See Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra*, pp. 5, 16, 27, who, however, believes to mean inanimate objects; see p. 130.

3. The name of this god was first read Khem, and then Min, but it has been proved (*Aeg. Zeitschriff*, 1877, p. 98, and *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. VIII., p. 204, note 2) that the correct {footnote page 283} reading is Amsu (compare the variants in Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Bl. 41). This god was associated with Amen-Ra, and represented the power of reproduction (see Pierret, *Panthéon*, p. 39; and Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 935). The seat of his worship was Apu, the Panopolis of the Greeks, and the Akhmîm of Arabic writers. For the forms of the name of the town, see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 19. Figures of Amsu, in bronze and *faïence*, are common, and good examples are Nos. 43, 44, 45, 46, 47*a*, and 13,520 in the Third Egyptian Room.]

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Who then is this? Amsu is Horus, the (32) avenger of his father, and his coming-forth is his birth. The (33) plumes upon his head are Isis and Nephthys when they go forth to set themselves (34) there, even as his protectors,[1] and they provide that which (35) his head lacketh,[2] or (as others say), They are the two exceeding great uræi which are upon the head of their (36) father Tmu, or (as others say), His two eyes are the two plumes.

(37) "Osiris Ani, the scribe of all the holy offerings, riseth up in his place in triumph; he cometh into (38) his city."[3]

What then is this? It is the horizon of his father Tmu.

(39) "1 have made an end of my shortcomings, and I have put away my faults."

What then (40) is this? It is the cutting off of the corruptible[4] in the body of Osiris, the scribe Ani, (41) triumphant before all the gods; and all his faults are driven out.

(42) What then is this? It is the purification [of Osiris] on the day of his birth.

(43) "I am purified in my exceeding great double nest[5] which is in Suten henen, (44) on the day of the offerings of the followers of the great god who is therein."

(45) What then is this? "Millions of years" is the name of the one

[1. Or "grandmothers." Isis was the " greater tcherti," and Nephthys the "lesser tcherti." On the word, see Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, Supp., p. 11335.

2. The chief variant readings are ###.

3. British Museum papyrus No. 9900 has, "I rise up in my land, I come into (or from) mine eye." The papyrus of Kenna at Leyden has the same reading as that of Ani.

4. The papyrus of Kenna has "the hind-parts."

5. The chief variants are ### and ###. See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Pl. xvii.]

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[nest], (46) "Green Lake"[1] is the name of the other; a pool of natron, and a pool of nitre (47); or (as others say), "The Traverser of Millions of Years" is the name of the one, "Great Green Lake" (48) is the name of the other; or (as others say), " The Begetter of Millions of Years" is the name of the one, "Green Lake" is (49) the name of the other. Now as concerning the great god who is in it, it is Ra himself. (50)

"I pass over the way, I know the head[2] of the Pool of Maata."[3]

(51) What then is this? It is Re-stau;[4] that is to say, it is the underworld on the (52) south of Naarut-f,[5] and it is the northern door[6] of the tomb.

Now as concerning (53) She-Maaat,[7] it is Abtu; or (as others say), It is the road by which his (54) father Tmu travelleth when he goeth to Sekhet-Aaru,[8] (55) which bringeth forth the food and nourishment of the gods behind the shrine. (56) Now the Gate of Sert[9] is the gate of the pillars of Shu, (57) the northern gate of the underworld; or (as others say), It is the two leaves

of the door through (58) which the god Tmu passeth when he goeth forth in the eastern horizon of heaven.

(59) "O ye gods who are in the presence[10] (of Osiris), grant me your arms, for I am the god (60) who shall come into being among you."

[1. According to Brugsch (*Dict. Géog.*, p. 179), "Green Lake" is the name of one of the two sacred lakes of Heracleopolis Magna.

2. Literally "heads."

3. For the locality of this name in Egypt, see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 248.

4. *I.e.*, " the door of the passages of the tomb."

5. The chief variants in Naville are ###.

6. Variants ###.

7. *I.e.*, the "Pool of Double Truth."

8. After the name Sekhet-Aaru, British Museum papyrus No. 9900 has "I come forth to the land of the . . . . I come forth from the gate Ser." "What then is this?" The papyrus of Ani omits this passage.

9 According to Brugsch (*Die biblischen sieben jahre der Hungersnoth*, p. 13) should be read *T'eser*. In 1867 Dr. Birch translated, "I go from the Gate of the Taser" (Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, Vol. V., p. 174).

10. A variant has "who are in his following." See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Pl. xlix.]

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What then is this? It is the drops of blood (61) which fell from Ra when he went forth (62) to cut himself. They sprang into being

as the gods Hu and Sa, who are in the (63) following of Ra and who accompany Tmu (64) daily and every day.

"I, Osiris, Ani (65) the scribe, triumphant, have filled up for thee the *utchat*[1] after it was darkened (66)[2] on the day of the combat of the Two Fighters."[3]

What then (67) is this? It is the day on which Horus fought with (68) Set, who cast filth in the face of Horus, and when Horus destroyed the (69) powers of Set. Thoth did this with his own hand.

(70) "I lift the hair[-cloud][4] when there are storms in the sky."

What then is this? (71) It is the right eye of Ra, which raged against [Set] when (72) he sent it forth. Thoth raiseth up the hair[-cloud], and bringeth the eye (73) alive, and whole, and sound, and without defect to [its] lord; or (as others say), It is the eye of Ra when it is sick and when it (74) weepeth for its fellow eye; then Thoth standeth up to cleanse it.

(75) "I behold Ra who was born yesterday from the (76) buttocks[5] of the cow Meh-urt;[6] his strength is my strength, and my strength is his strength."

What then (77) is this? It is the water of heaven, or (as others say), (78) It is the image of the eye of Ra in the morning at his daily birth. (79) Meh-urt is the eye of Ra. Therefore Osiris, the (80) scribe Ani, triumphant, [is] a great one among the gods (81) who are in the train of Horus. The words are] spoken for him that loveth his lord.[7]

[1. *I.e.*, the eye of the Sun.

2. Some variants give "pierced."

3. Rehui was a name given in the first instance to Horus and Set, but subsequently it was applied to any two combatants (see the passages quoted by Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, Suppl., p. 734). British Museum papyrus No. 10,184 (Sallier IV.), states that the battle between Horus and Set took place on the 26th day of the month of Thoth, *i.e.*, October (see Chabas, *Le Calendrier*, p. 28).

4. The scribe has omitted the words *em utchat*, "from the eye of the sun." The word *shen* is a name for the clouds which cover the eye of the sun, and which are in appearance like hair. Brugsch in his *Wörterbuch* (Suppl.), p. 1193, gives the word as meaning "tempest."

5. The papyrus has ###.

6. For figures of this goddess, see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, plate 131.

7. The meaning of this passage is doubtful. Birch renders, "one of the gods who belong to Horus, whose words exceed the wish of his Lord"; and Pierret, "un de ces dieux qui suivent Horus, et parlent selon la volonté de leur seigneur."]

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(82) What then is this? [*i.e.*, who are these gods?] Mestha, Hapi[1] Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf.

(83) "Homage to you, O ye lords of right and truth, and ye holy ones who [stand] behind Osiris, who utterly do away with (84) sins and crime, and [ye] who are in the following of the goddess Hetep-se(85)-khus, grant that I may come unto you. Destroy ye all the faults which (86) are within me, even as ye did for the seven Shining Ones (87) who are among the followers of their lord Sepa.[1] (88) Anubis appointed their place on the day [when was said], 'Come therefore thither.'"

What then (89) is this? These lords of right and truth are Thoth and (90) Astes, lord of Amenta. The holy ones who stand behind Osiris, even Mestha, (91) Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf, are they who are (92) behind the Thigh[2] in the northern sky. They who do away with (93) sins and crime and who are in the following of the goddess Hetep-se-khus (94) are the god Sebek in the waters. The goddess Hetep-se-khus is the eye of (95) Ra, or (as others say), It is the flame which followeth after Osiris to burn up (96) the souls of his foes. As concerning all the faults which are (97) in Osiris, the scribe of the holy offerings of all the gods, Ani, triumphant, [they are all that he hath done against the lords of eternity][3] since he came forth (98) from his mother's womb. As concerning (99) the seven Shining Ones, even Mestha, Hapi, Tuamautef, Qebhsennuf, (100) Maa-atef-f, Kheri-beq-f, and

Horus-Khenti-maa, Anubis appointed (101) them protectors of the body of Osiris, or (as others say), (102) [set them] behind the place of purification of Osiris; or (as others say), Those seven glorious ones are (103) Netcheh-netcheh, Aqet-qet, An-erta-nef-bes-f-khenti-heh-f,[4] (104) Aq-her-unnut-f,[5] Tesher-maa-ammi (105) -het-Anes,[6]

[1. British Museum papyrus No. 10,477 reads ### which agrees with many of the variants given in Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., P1. liii. The papyrus of Nebseni agrees with that of Ani; No. 19,471 has the curious reading, ###.

2. The Egyptian name for the constellation of the Great Bear. See Brugsch, *Astronomische und Astrologische Inschriften*, p. 123.

3. Some such words as have been omitted. See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. IL, PI. lv.

4. *I.e.*, "He doth not give his flame, he dwelleth in the fire."

5. *I.e.*, "He goeth in at his hour."

6. *I.e.*, "He that hath two red eyes, the dweller in Het-Anes." According to Brugsch (Dict. Géog., p. 64), Het-Anes, *i.e.*, the "house of cloth," was a district belonging to the temple of Suten-henen or Heracleopolis in Upper Egypt.]

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Ubes-hra-per-em-khet khet,[l] and Maa (106) -em-qerh-an-nef-em-hru.[2] The chief of the holy ones (107) who minister in his chamber is Horus, the avenger of his father. As to the day (108) [upon which was said] " Come therefore thither,"

it concerneth the words, "Come (109) then thither," which Ra spake unto Osiris. Lo, may this be decreed for me in Amentet.

"I am the soul which dwelleth in the two (110) *tchafi*."

What then is this? It is Osiris [when] he goeth into Tattu (111) and findeth there the soul of Ra; there the one god (112) embraceth the other, and souls spring into being within the two *tchafi*.[3]

["I am the Cat which fought (?) by the Persea tree hard by in Annu, on the night when the foes of Neb-er-tcher were destroyed."]

What then is this? The male cat is Ra himself, and he is called Maau[4] by reason of the speech of the god Sa [who said] concerning him: "He is like (*maau*) unto that which he hath made, and his name became Maau"; or (as others say), It is Shu who maketh over the possessions of Seb to Osiris. As to the fight (?) by the Persea tree hard by, in Annu, it concerneth the children of impotent revolt when justice is wrought on them for what they have done. As to [the words] "that night of the battle," they concern the inroad [of the children of impotent revolt] into the eastern part of heaven, whereupon there arose a battle in heaven and in all the earth.

"O thou who art in the egg (i.e., Ra), who shinest from thy disk and risest in thy horizon, and dost shine like gold above the sky, like unto whom there is none among the gods, who sailest over the pillars of Shu (*i.e.*, the ether), who givest blasts of fire from thy mouth, [who makest the two lands bright with thy radiance, deliver] the faithful worshippers from the god whose forms are hidden, whose eyebrows are like unto the two arms of the balance on the night of the reckoning of destruction."

[1. *I.e.*, "Blazing-face coming forth, going back."

2 *I.e.*, "The one who seeth by night, and leadeth by day."

3 This reading differs from that of any other papyrus of this period. After the words, "spring into being within the two *tchafi*," the papyrus of Nebseni has, "It is Horus, the avenger of his father, and Horus-khenti-en-maa," or (as others say), "'the two souls within the tchafi' are the soul of Ra [and] the soul of Osiris, [or] the soul which is in Shu and the soul which is in Tefnut, that is, the two souls which are in Tattu." It appears that the scribe of the Ani papyrus has here accidentally omitted a long section; the text is therefore supplied within brackets from the Nebseni papyrus, plate xiv., 1. 16 ff.

4. Note the play upon the words *maau*, "cat," and *maau*, "like."]

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Who then is this? It is An-a-f, the god who bringeth his arm. As concerning [the words] "that night of the reckoning of destruction," it is the night of the burning of the damned, and

of the overthrow of the wicked at [the sacred] block, and of the slaughter of souls.

Who then is this? It is Nemu, the headsman of Osiris; or (as others say), It is Apep when he riseth up with one head bearing *maat* (*i.e.*, right and truth) [upon it]; or (as others say), It is Horus when he riseth up with two heads, whereof the one beareth *maat* and the other wickedness. He bestoweth wickedness on him that worketh wickedness, and *maat* on him that followeth after righteousness and truth; or (as others say), It is the great Horus who dwelleth in [Se] khem; or (as others say), It is Thoth; or (as others say), It is Nefer-Tmu, [or] Sept,[1] who doth thwart the course of the foes of Neb-er-tcher.

"Deliver me from the Watchers who bear slaughtering knives, and who have cruel fingers,[2] and who slay those who are in the following of Osiris. May they never overcome me, may I never fall under their knives."

"What then is this? It is Anubis, and it is Horus in the form of Khent-en-maa; or (as others say), It is the Divine Rulers who thwart the works of their [weapons]; it is the chiefs of the *sheniu* chamber.

"May their knives never get the mastery over me, may I never fall under their instruments of cruelty, for I know their names, and I know the being Matchet[3] Who is among them in the house of Osiris, shooting rays of light from [his] eye, but he himself is unseen. He goeth round about heaven robed in the flame of his mouth, commanding Hapi, but remaining himself unseen. May I be strong upon earth before Ra, may I come happily into haven in the presence of Osiris. Let not your offerings be hurtful to me, O ye who preside over your altars, for I am among those who follow after Neb-er-tcher according to the writings of Khepera. I fly as a hawk, I cackle as a goose; I ever slay, even as the serpent goddess Nehebka."

What then is this? They who preside at the altars are the similitude of the eye of Ra and the similitude of the eye of Horus.

"O Ra-Tmu, lord of the Great House, prince, life, strength and health of all the gods, deliver thou [me] from the god whose face is like unto that of a dog, whose brows are as those of a man, and who feedeth upon the dead, who watcheth

[1. Many papyri read, "Nefer-Tmu, son of Bast, and the *tchatcha*."

2. Or instruments of death.

3. *I.e.*, the "Oppressor."]

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at the Bight of the Fiery Lake, and who devoureth the bodies of the dead and swalloweth hearts, and who shooteth forth filth, but he himself remaineth unseen."

Who then is this? "Devourer for millions of years" is his name, and he dwelleth in the Lake of Unt.[1] As concerning the Fiery Lake, it is that which is in Anrutf, hard by the *Shenit* chamber. The unclean man who would walk thereover doth fall down among the knives; or (as others say), His name is "Mathes,"[2] and he is the watcher of the door of Amenta; or (as others say), His name is "Heri-sep-f."

"Hail, Lord of terror, chief of the lands of the North and South, lord of the red glow, who preparest the slaughter-block, and who dost feed upon the inward parts!"

Who then is this? The guardian of the Bight of Amenta.

What then is this? It is the heart of Osiris, which is the devourer of all slaughtered things. The *urerit* crown hath been given unto him with swellings of the heart as lord of Suten-henen.

What then is this? He to whom hath been given the *urerit* crown with swellings of-the heart as lord of Suten-henen is Osiris. He was bidden to rule among the gods on the day of the union of earth with earth in the presence of Neb-er-tcher.

What then is this? He that was bidden to rule among the gods is [Horus] the son of Isis, who was appointed to rule in the place of his father Osiris. As to the day of the union of earth with earth, it is the mingling of earth with earth in the coffin of Osiris, the Soul that liveth in Suten-henen, the giver of meat and drink, the destroyer of wrong, and the guide of the everlasting paths.

Who then is this? It is Ra himself.

"Deliver thou [me] from the great god who carrieth away souls, and who devoureth filth and eateth dirt, the guardian of the darkness [who himself " liveth] in the light. They who are in misery fear him."

As concerning the souls within the (113) *tchafi* [they are those which are] with the god who carrieth away the soul, who eateth hearts, and who feedeth (114) upon offal, the guardian of the

darkness who is within the *seker* boat; they who live in (115) crime fear him.

Who then is this? It is Suti, or (as others say), It is Smam-ur,[3] (116) the soul of Seb.

"Hail, Khepera in thy boat, the twofold company of the gods is thy body. Deliver thou Osiris (117) Ani, triumphant, from the watchers who give judgment,

[1. Reading *se en Unt*.

2 The one with a knife.

3 *I.e.*, Great Slayer.]

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who have been appointed by Neb-er(118)-tcher to protect him and to fasten the fetters on his foes, and who slaughter in the shambles (119); there is no escape from their grasp. May they never stab me with their knives, (120) may I never fall helpless in their chambers of torture. (121) Never have the things which the gods hate been done by me, for I am pure within the Mesqet. (122) Cakes of saffron have been brought unto him in Tanenet."

Who then is this? (123) It is Khepera in his boat. It is Ra himself. The watchers (124) who give judgment are the apes Isis and Nephthys.

The things which the gods hate (125) are wickedness and falsehood; and he who passeth through the place of purification within the Mesqet is Anubis, who is (126) behind the chest which holdeth the inward parts of Osiris.

He to whom saffron cakes have been brought in (127) Tanenet is Osiris; or (as others say), The saffron cakes (128) in Tanenet are heaven and earth, or (as others say), They are Shu, strengthener of the two lands in (129) Suten-henen. The saffron cakes are the eye of Horus; and Tanenet is the grave (110) of Osiris.

Tmu hath built thy house, and the two-fold Lion-god hath founded thy habitation; (131) lo! drugs are brought, and Horus purifieth and Set strengtheneth, and Set purifieth and Horus strengtheneth.

(132) "The Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant before Osiris, hath come into the land, and hath possessed it with his feet. He is Tmu, and he is in the city."

(133) "Turn thou back, O Rehu, whose mouth shineth, whose head moveth, turn thou back from before his strength"; or (as others say), Turn thou back from him who keepeth watch (134) and is unseen. "The Osiris Ani is safely guarded. He is Isis, and he is found

(135) with [her] hair spread over him. I shake it out over his brow. He was conceived in Isis and begotten in (136) Nephthys; and they cut off from him the things which should be cut off."

Fear followeth after thee, terror is upon thine (137) arms. Thou art embraced for millions of years in the arms [of the nations]; mortals go round about thee. Thou smitest down the mediators of thy (138) foes, and thou seizest the arms of the powers of darkness. The two sisters (*i.e.*, Isis and Nephthys) are given to thee for thy delight. (139) Thou hast created that which is in Kheraba, and that which is in Annu. Every god feareth thee, for thou art exceeding great and terrible; thou [avengest] every (140) god on the man that curseth him, and thou shootest out arrows . . . . Thou livest according to thy will; thou art Uatchit, the Lady of Flame. Evil cometh (141) among those who set themselves up against thee.

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What then is this? The hidden in form, granted of Menhu, (142) is the name of the tomb. He seeth [what is] in [his] hand, is the name of the shrine, or (143) (as others say), the name of the block. Now he whose mouth shineth and whose head moveth is (144) a limb of Osiris, or (as others say), of Ra. Thou spreadest thy hair and

I shake it out over his brow (145) is spoken concerning Isis, who hideth in her hair and draweth her hair over her. Uatchi, the Lady of Flames, is the eye of Ra.[1]

PLATES XI. AND XII.

Vignette I.: Ani and his wife Thuthu approaching the first Arit,[3] the cornice of which is ornamented with ### *i.e.*, emblems of power, life, and stability. At the entrance sit three gods, the first having the head of a hare, the second the head of a serpent, and the third the head of a crocodile. The first holds an ear of corn (?), and each of the others a knife.

Text [CHAPTER CXLVII.]: (I) THE FIRST ARIT. The name of the doorkeeper is Sekhet-hra-asht-aru[3]; the name of the (2) watcher is Meti-heh (?)[4]; the name of the herald is Ha-kheru.[5]

[WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN OSIRIS COMETH TO THE FIRST ARIT IN AMENTA.[6]] Saith (3) Ani, triumphant, when he cometh to the first Arit: "I am the mighty one who createth his own light. (4) I have come unto thee, O Osiris, and, purified from that which defileth thee, I adore thee. Lead on; (5) name not the name

[1. Lepsius (*Todtenbuch*, Bl. XI.) adds, after this: "Now those who rise up against me and among whom is evil [see above, l. 141] are the powers of darkness of the god Sut, when there is strife among them, for strife is flame."

2. "May it be granted to [the dead] by the decree of [the gods] who are in Tattu to destroy the souls of his foes!"

2 House or mansion. in the upper line of Plates XI. and XII. there is a series of seven *Arits*, or mansions, through which the deceased is supposed to pass. In the lower line are the ten *Sebkhets*, or pylon-shaped gateways.

3 "Reversed of face: of many forms." Var. ###.

4 Var. ###.

5 "The voice that travelleth." Var. ###. "The high-voiced."

6 Supplied from Naville, *Todtenbuch*, 1. 165.]

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of Re-stau unto me. Homage to thee, O Osiris, in thy might and in thy strength (6) in Re-stau. Rise up and conquer, O Osiris, in Abtu. Thou goest round about heaven, thou sailest in the presence of Ra, (7) thou seest all the beings who have knowledge.[1] Hail Ra, who circlest in [the sky]. Verily I say [unto thee], O Osiris, I am a (8) godlike ruler. (9) Let me not be driven hence[2] (10) nor from the wall of burning coals. [I have] opened the way in Re-stau; (11) I have eased the pain of Osiris; [I have] embraced that which the balance I hath weighed; [I have] made a path for him in the great valley, it and [he] maketh a path. Osiris shineth(?)."

Vignette II.: The second Arit, guarded by three gods; the first of whom has the head of a lion, the second the head of a man, and the third the head of a dog. Each one holds a knife.

Text: (1) THE SECOND ARIT. The name of (2) the doorkeeper is Un-hat[4]; (3) the name of the watcher is (4) Seqet-hra; the name of the herald is Uset.[5]

(6) Saith Osiris Ani, when he cometh unto this Arit; "He sitteth to do his heart's desire, and he weigheth (7) words as the second of Thoth. The strength of Thoth[6] humbleth the (8) hidden Maata gods[7] who feed upon Maat throughout the years [of their lives].[8] I make offerings at the (9) moment when [he] passeth on his way; I pass on and enter on the way; Grant thou that I may pass through and that I may gain sight of Ra together with those who make offerings."

[1. Birch: "Pure Spirits." Pierret: "Intelligents."

2. *I.e.*, the *Arit*.

3 Literally standard or perch. Var. ###.

4 Var. ###.

5 Var. ###.

6. Var. "the strength of Osiris is the strength of Thoth."

7 Varr. *Nemasa*, and *Sah*, "Orion." The reading in Lepsius is *Masti*, "gods of the thigh."

8. Var. "their years are the years of Osiris."

9. The text here differs from all others and may be corrupt.]

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Vignette III.: The third Arit, guarded by three gods; the first with the head of a jackal, the second the head of a dog, and the third the head of a serpent. The first holds an ear of corn (?), and each of the others a knife.

Text: (1) THE THIRD ARIT. The name of the (2) doorkeeper is Qeq-hauau-ent-pehui;[1] the name of the (4) watcher is Se-res-hra;[2] the name of the herald is Aaa.[3]

Saith Osiris Ani, [when he cometh to this Arit]: (6) "I am hidden [in] the great deep, [I am] the judge of the Rehui.[4] I have come and I have done away with the offences of Osiris. I am building up the standing place (7) which cometh forth from his *urerit* (?) crown. I have done his business in Abtu, I have opened the way in Re-stau, I have (8) eased the pain which was in Osiris. I have made straight his standing place, and I have made [his] path.[5] He shineth in Re-stau."

Vignette IV.: The fourth Arit, guarded by three gods; the first with the head of a man, the second the head of a hawk, and the

third the head of a lion. The first holds an ear of corn and each of the others a knife.

Text: (1) THE FOURTH ARIT. The name of the (2) doorkeeper is Khesef-hra-asht- (3) kheru;[6] the name of the (4) watcher is Seres-tepu;[7] (5) the name of the herald is (6) Khesef-At.[8]

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I am the [mighty] bull, the (7) son of the ancestress of Osiris. O grant ye that his father, the lord of his godlike (8) companions, may bear witness for him. Here the guilty are weighed in judgment. I have brought unto (9) his nostrils eternal life. I am the son of Osiris, I have made the way, I have passed thereover into Neter-khert."

PLATE XII.--Vignette V.: The fifth Arit, guarded by three gods; the first with the head of a hawk, the second the head of a man, and the third the head of a snake. Each holds a knife.

[1. *I.e.*, "Eater of his own filth."

2. *I.e.*, "Making to lift up his face."

3. *I.e.*, "Great One."

4. *I.e.*, Horus and Set.

5. Var. ###. See the end of the speech of the Osiris at the first *arit*.

6. *I.e.*, "Repulsing the face, great of speech."

7 Var. ###

8. *I.e.*, "Repulser of the crocodile."]

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Text: (1) THE FIFTH ARIT. The (2) name of the doorkeeper is Ankh-f-em-fent;[1] the name of the (3) watcher is Shabu; the name of the herald is Teb-hra-keha-kheft.[2]

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, [when he cometh to this Arit]: I have brought unto thee the bones of thy jaws in Re-stau, I have brought thee thy backbone in Annu, (7) gathering together all thy members there. (8) I have driven back Apep for thee. I have poured water upon the wounds; I have made a path among you. I am the Ancient One among the gods. I have[3] made the offering of Osiris, who hath triumphed with victory, gathering his bones and bringing together all his limbs."

Vignette VI.: The sixth Arit, guarded by three gods; the first with the head of a jackal, and the second and third the head of a dog. The first holds an ear of corn (?), and each of the others a knife.

Text: (I) THE SIXTH ARIT. (2) The name of the doorkeeper is Atek-au-kehaq-kheru;[4] the name of the (4) watcher is An-hri; (5) the name of the herald is Ates-hra.

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I have come (7) daily, I have come daily. I have made the way; I have passed along that which was created by Anubis. I am the lord of the (8) *urerit* crown . . . . magical words. I, the avenger of right and truth, have avenged his eye. I have swathed the eye of Osiris, [I have] made the way]; Osiris Ani hath passed along [it] with you . . . .

Vignette VII.: The seventh Arit, guarded by three gods; the first with the head of a hare, the second the head of a lion, and the third the head of a man. The first and second hold a knife, and the third an ear of corn (?).

Text: (1) THE SEVENTH ARIT. The name of (2) the doorkeeper is Sekhem-Matenu-sen;[5] the name Of (4) the watcher is Aa-maa-kheru,[6] (5) and the name of the herald is Khesef-khemi.

Saith Osiris, [the scribe] Ani, [when he cometh to this Arit]: (6) "I have come

[1. *I.e.*, "He liveth upon worms."

2. Var. ###.

3. For what follows of this speech Naville gives no equivalent.

4. Var. Seket-tau-keha-kheru.

5. Ates-sen.

6 Var. Aa-kheru.]

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unto thee, O Osiris, who art cleansed of [thine] impurities. Thou goest round about heaven, thou seest Ra, thou seest the beings who have knowledge. Hail (7) Only One! behold, thou art in the sektet boat,[1] He goeth round the horizon of heaven. I speak what I will unto his[2] body; (8) it waxeth strong and it cometh to life, as he spake. Thou turnest back his face. Prosper thou for -me all the ways [which lead] unto thee!"

Vignette I.: Ani and his wife Thuthu, with hands raised in adoration, approaching the first *Sebkhet* or Pylon, which is guarded by a bird-headed deity wearing a disk on his head, and sitting in a shrine the cornice of which is decorated with *khakeru* ornaments.

Text: [CHAPTER CXLVI.] THE FIRST PYLON. WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN [ANI] COMETH UNTO THE FIRST PYLON. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the lady of terrors, with lofty walls, the sovereign lady,

the mistress of destruction, who uttereth the words which drive back the destroyers, who delivereth from destruction him that travelleth along the way. The name of the doorkeeper is Neruit."

Vignette II.: The second Pylon, which is guarded by a lion-headed deity seated in a shrine, upon the top of which is a serpent.

Text: WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN [ANI] COMETH UNTO THE SECOND PYLON. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the lady of heaven, the mistress of the world, who devoureth with fire, the lady of mortals; how much greater is she than all men! The name of the doorkeeper is Mes-Ptah."

Vignette III.: The third Pylon, which is guarded by a man-headed deity seated in a shrine, the upper part of which is ornamented with the two *utchats* and the emblems of the orbit of the sun and of water.

Text: WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN [ANI] COMETH UNTO THE THIRD PYLON OF THE HOUSE OF OSIRIS. Saith the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the lady of the

[1. Var. "Thou invokest Ra in the *sektet* boat of heaven."

2 Reading with Naville ###.]

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altar, the mighty one to whom offerings are made, the beloved[1] (?) of every god, who saileth up to Abtu. The name of the doorkeeper is Sebaq."

Vignette IV.: The fourth Pylon, which is guarded by a cow-headed deity seated in a shrine, the cornice of which is ornamented with uræi wearing disks.

Text: WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN [ANI] COMETH UNTO THE FOURTH PYLON. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, [triumphant]: "Lo, she who prevaileth with knives, mistress of the world, destroyer of the foes of the Still-Heart, she who decreeth the escape of the needy from evil hap. The name of the doorkeeper is Nekau."

Vignette V.: The fifth Pylon, which is guarded by the hippopotamus deity, with her fore-feet resting upon the buckle, the emblem of protection, seated in a shrine, the cornice of which is ornamented with ###, emblematic of flames of fire.

Text: WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN [ANI] COMETH UNTO THE FIFTH PYLON. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the flame, the lady of breath (?) for the nostrils; one may not advance to entreat her shall not come into her presence. The name of the doorkeeper is Hentet-Arqiu."

Vignette VI.: The sixth Pylon, which is guarded by a deity in the form of a man holding a knife and a besom and seated in a shrine, above which is a serpent.

Text: WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN [ANI] COMETH UNTO THE SIXTH PYLON. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the lady of light, the mighty one, to whom men cry aloud; man knoweth neither her breadth nor her height; there was never found her like from the beginning (?). There is a serpent thereover whose size is not known; it was born in the presence of the Still-Heart. The name of the doorkeeper is Semati."

Vignette VII.: The seventh Pylon, which is guarded by a ram-headed deity holding a besom and seated in a shrine, the cornice of which is decorated with *khakeru*ornaments.

[1. The principal variants are "every god uniteth with her"; "the heart of every god rejoiceth in her." See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Bl. 371.]

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Text: WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN [ANI] COMETH UNTO THE SEVENTH PYLON. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the robe which doth clothe the feeble one (*i.e.*, the deceased), weeping for what it loveth and shroudeth. The name of the doorkeeper is Sakti-f."

Vignette VIII.: The eighth Pylon, which is guarded by a hawk wearing the crowns of the North and South, seated on a sepulchral chest with closed doors; before him is a besom, and behind him is the *utchat*. Above the shrine are two human-headed hawks, emblems of the souls of Ra and Osiris, and two emblems of life.

Text: WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN [ANI] COMETH UNTO THE EIGHTH PYLON. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "Lo, the blazing fire, the flame whereof cannot be quenched, with tongues of flame which reach afar, the slaughtering one, the irresistible, through which one may not pass by reason of the hurt which it doeth. The name of the doorkeeper is Khu-tchet-f."[1]

Vignette IX: The ninth Pylon, which is guarded by a lion-headed deity wearing a disk and holding a besom, seated in a shrine, the cornice of which is ornamented with uræi wearing disks.

Text: WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN [ANI] COMETH UNTO THE NINTH PYLON. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "Lo, she who is chiefest, the lady of strength, who giveth quiet of heart to her lord. Her girth is three hundred and fifty measures; she is clothed with mother-of-emerald of the south; and she raiseth up the godlike form and clotheth the feeble one The name of the doorkeeper is Ari-su-tchesef."[2]

Vignette X.: The tenth Pylon, which is guarded by a ram-headed deity wearing the *atef* crown and holding a besom, seated in a shrine, upon the top of which are two serpents.

Text: WORDS TO BE SPOKEN WHEN [ANI] COMETH UNTO THE TENTH PYLON. Saith Osiris Ani, [triumphant]: "Lo, she who is loud of voice, she who causeth those to cry who entreat her, the fearful one who terrifieth, who feareth none that are therein. The name of the doorkeeper is Sekhen-ur."

[1. *I.e.*, "Protecting his body."

2 *I.e.*, "He maketh himself."]

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Appendix: The several "texts" of the next eleven Pylons are wanting in this papyrus. Translations of them are here given as they are found in a papyrus published by Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., 131. 161, 162. It will be observed that the names of the doorkeepers are wanting, and also that each text, except in the case of the twenty-first Pylon, ends with words which refer to the examination of the dead at each gate.

THE ELEVENTH PYLON. "Lo, she who repeateth slaughter, the burner up of fiends, It she who is terrible at every gateway, who

rejoiceth on the day of darkness. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

THE TWELFTH PYLON. "Lo, the invoker of the two lands, who destroyeth with flashings and with fire those who come, the lady of splendour, who obeyeth her lord daily. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

THE THIRTEENTH PYLON. "Lo, Isis, who hath stretched forth her hands and arms over it, and hath made Hapi to shine in his hidden place. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

THE FOURTEENTH PYLON. "Lo, the lady of the knife, who danceth in blood; she maketh [the festival of] the god Hak on the day of judgment. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

THE FIFTEENTH PYLON. "Lo, the Bloody Soul, who searcheth out and putteth to the test, who maketh inquiry and scrutiny, who cometh forth by night, and doth fetter the Fiend in his lair; may her hands be given to the Still-Heart in his hour, and may she make him to advance and come forth unto her. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

THE SIXTEENTH PYLON. Saith Osiris, when he cometh unto this pylon: "Lo, the Terrible one, the lady of the rain storm, who planteth

ruin in the souls of men, the devourer of the dead bodies of mankind, the orderer and creator of slaughters, who cometh forth. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

THE SEVENTEENTH PYLON. "Lo, the Hewer-in-pieces in blood, ... the lady of flame. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

THE EIGHTEENTH PYLON. "Lo, the Lover of fire, the purifier of sinners (?), the lover of slaughter, the chief of those who adore, the lady of the temple, the slaughterer of the fiends in the night. She judgeth the feeble bandaged one."

THE NINETEENTH PYLON. "Lo, the Dispenser of light while she liveth, the mistress of flames, the lady of the strength and of the writings of Ptah himself. She maketh trial of the swathings of Pa-an."

THE TWENTIETH PYLON. "Lo, she who is within the cavern of her lord, Clother is her name; she hideth what she hath made, she carrieth away hearts and greedily drinketh water. She judgeth the feeble swathed one."

THE TWENTY-FIRST PYLON. "Lo, the knife which cutteth when [its name] is uttered, and slayeth those who advance towards its flames. It hath secret plots and counsels."

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In the late recensions of the Book of the Dead,[1] the text referring to the twenty-first Pylon reads:--

(71) "Hail," saith Horus, "O twenty-first pylon of the Still-Heart. (72) I have made the way, I know thee, I know thy name, I know the name of the goddess who guardeth thee: 'Sword that smiteth at the utterance of its [own] name, the unknown (?) goddess with back-turned face, the overthrower of those who draw nigh unto her flame' is her name. Thou keepest the secret things of the avenger of the god whom thou guardest, and his name is Amem.[2] (73) He maketh it to come to pass that the persea trees grow not, that the acacia trees bring not forth, and that copper is not begotten in the mountain. The godlike beings of this pylon are seven gods. (74) Tchen or At is the name of the one at (?) the door; Hetep-mes[3] is the name of the second one; Mes-Sep[4] is the name of the third one Utch-re[5] is the name of the fourth one; "Ap-uat[6] is the name of the fifth one; Beq[7] is the name of the sixth one; Anubis is the name of the seventh one."

(75) "I have made the way. I am Amsu-Horus, the avenger of his father, the heir of his father Un-nefer. I have come and I have overthrown all foes of my father Osiris. I have come day by day with victory, doing myself the worship of the god, (76) in the house of his father Tmu, lord of Annu, triumphant in the southern sky. I have done what is right and true to him that hath made right and truth; I have made the Haker festival for the lord thereof; I have led the way in the festival; (77) I have made offerings of cakes to the lords of the altars; and I have brought offerings and oblations, and cakes and ale, and oxen and ducks, to my father Osiris Un-nefer. I rise up in order that my soul may be made one wholly; I cause the bennu bird to come forth at [my] words. I have come daily into the holy house to make offerings of incense. (78) I have brought garments of byssus. I have set forth on the lake in the boat. I have made Osiris, the overlord of the netherworld, to be victorious over his enemies; and I have carried away all his foes to the place of slaughter in the East; they shall never come forth from the durance of the god Seb therein. (79) I have made those who stand up against Ra to be still, and [I have] made him to be victorious. I have come even as a scribe, and I have made all things plain. I have caused the god to have the power of his legs. I have come into the house of him that is upon his

hill,[8] and I have seen him that is ruler in the sacred hall. (80) I have gone into Re-stau; I have hidden myself, and I have found out the way; I have travelled unto An-rutf. I have clothed those who are naked. (81) I have sailed up to Abtu; I have praised the gods Hu and Sau. (82) 1 have entered into the house of Astes, I have made supplication to the gods Khati and Sekhet in the house of Neith," or, as others say, "the rulers. I have entered into Re-stau; I have hidden myself,

[1. See Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, pl. LXIV.

2. *I.e.*, "Devourer."

3. *I.e.*, "Born of peace."

4. *I.e.*, "Who giveth birth to fire."

5 *I.e.*, "Strong of mouth."

6 *I.e.*, "Opener of ways."

7 *I.e.*, "Olive tree."

8 *I.e.*, Anubis, the god of the dead.]

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and I have found out the way; I have travelled unto An-rutf. (83) I have clothed him who was naked. I have sailed up to Abtu; I have glorified Hu and Sau. (84) I have received my crown at my rising, and I have power to sit upon my throne, upon the throne of my father and of the great company of the gods. I have adored the*meskhen*

of Ta-sert. (85) My mouth uttereth words with right and with truth. I have drowned the serpent Akhekh. I have come into the great hall which giveth strength unto the limbs; and it hath been granted to me to sail along in the boat of Hai. The fragrance of *anti* unguent ariseth from the hair of him who hath knowledge. (86) I have entered into the house of Astes, and I have made supplication to the gods Khati and Sekhet within the House of the Prince. (87) I have arrived as a favoured one in Tattu."

Vignette [1] [CHAPTER XVIII.--INTRODUCTION] (Upper register): The priest[2] An-maut-f, who has on the right side of his head the lock of Heru-pa-khrat, or Horus the Child, and who wears a leopard's skin, introducing Ani and his wife to the gods whose names are given in Plates XIII. and XIV.

Text: An-maut-f saith: "I have come unto you, O mighty and godlike rulers who are in heaven and in earth and under the earth; (2) and I have brought unto you Osiris Ani. He hath not sinned against any of the gods. Grant ye that he may be with you for all time."

(1) The adoration of Osiris, lord of Re-stau, and of the great company of the gods who are in the netherworld beside Osiris, the scribe Ani, who saith: (2) "Homage to thee, O ruler of Amenta, Unnefer within Abtu! I have come unto thee, and my heart holdeth

right and truth. (3) There is no sin in my body; nor have I lied wilfully, nor have I done aught with a false heart. Grant thou to me food in the tomb, (4) and that I may come into [thy] presence at the altar of the lords of right and truth, and that I may enter into and come forth from the netherworld (my soul not being turned back), and that I may behold the face of the Sun, and that I may behold the Moon (5) for ever and ever."

Vignette (Lower register): The priest Se-mer-f[3] who has on the right side of his head the lock of Heru-pa-khrat and wears a leopard's skin, introducing Ani and his wife to the gods whose names are given in Plates XIII. and XIV.

[1. This and its companion vignette and the vignettes of Plates XIII.-XIV. form one composition.

2. Osiris is also called An-maut-f; see Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, chap. cxlii., 1. 7.

3. For the functions of this priest see above, p. 268.]

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Text: Se-mer-f saith (1) I have come unto you, O godlike rulers who are in Re-stau, and I have brought unto you Osiris Ani. Grant ye [to him], as to the followers of Horus, cakes and water, and air, and a homestead in Sekhet-Hetep."[I]

(1) The adoration of Osiris, the lord of everlastingness, and of all the godlike rulers of Re-stau, by Osiris, [the scribe Ani], who (2) saith: "Homage to thee, O king of Amenta, prince of Akert, I have come unto thee. I know thy ways, (3) I am furnished with the forms which thou takest in the underworld. Grant thou to me a place in the underworld near unto the lords (4) of right and truth. May my homestead be abiding in Sekhet-hetep, and may I receive cakes in thy presence."

PLATE XIII.

Vignettes (Upper register): A pylon, or gateway, surmounted by the feathers of Maat and uræi wearing disks. (Lower register): A pylon, surmounted by Anubis and an *utchat*.

Text [CHAPTER XVIII.]: [" (1) Hail Thoth, who madest Osiris (2) victorious over his enemies, make thou Osiris [the scribe Ani] to be victorious over his enemies, as thou didst make Osiris victorious over his enemies' in the presence of (3) the godlike rulers who are with Ra and Osiris in Annu, on the night of 'the things for the night,'[2] and on the night of battle, and (4) on the shackling of the fiends, and on the day of the destruction of Neb-er-tcher."][3]

. Vignette: The gods Tmu, Shut Tefnut, Osiris,[4] and Thoth.

Text: (1) The great godlike rulers in Annu are Tmu, Shu, Tefnut [Osiris, and Thoth], (2) and the shackling of the Sebau signifieth the destruction of the fiends of Set when he worketh evil (3) a second time.

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies, make thou the Osiris (4) Ani to be victorious over his enemies in the presence of the great divine beings who are in Tattu, on the night of making the Tat to stand up in Tattu."

[1. *I.e.*, the Fields of Peace.

2. The words are explained to mean, "the daybreak on the sarcophagus of Osiris."

3. This section, omitted in the Ani papyrus, is supplied from the papyrus of Nebseni.

4. This god is omitted from the copy of this chapter given on Plate XXIII.]

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. Vignette: The gods Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus.

Text: (1) The great godlike rulers in Tattu are Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus, the avenger of his father. Now the "night of making the Tat to stand (2) Up in Tattu" signifieth [the lifting up of] the arm and shoulder of Osiris, lord of Sekhem; and these

gods stand behind Osiris [to protect him] even as the swathings; which clothe[1] him.

(3) "Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies, make thou the Osiris Ani triumphant over his enemies (4) in the presence of the great godlike rulers who are in Sekhem, on the night of the things of the night [festival] in Sekhem."

. Vignette: The gods Osiris and Horus, two *utchats* upon pylons, and the god Thoth.

Text: (1) The great godlike rulers who are in Sekhem are Horus, who is without sight, and Thoth, who is with the godlike rulers in Naarerutf. (2) Now the "night of the things of the night festival in Sekhem" signifieth the light of the rising sun on the coffin of Osiris.

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious (3) over his enemies, make thou the Osiris Ani triumphant over his enemies in the presence of the great godlike rulers in Pe and Tep,[2] on the (4) night of setting up the columns of Horus, and of making him to be established the heir of the things which belonged to his father."

. Vignette: The gods Horus, Isis, Mestha and Hapi.

Text: (1) The great divine rulers who are in Pe and Tep are Horus, Isis, Mestha, and Hapi. Now setting up the columns (2) of Horus [signifieth] the command given by Set unto his followers: "Set up columns upon it."

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies (3), make thou the Osiris-Ani triumphant over his enemies in the presence of the great godlike

[1. The papyrus of Nebseni reads "Now the setting up of the double Tat signifieth the two shoulders and arms of Horus, lord of Sekhem; and they stand behind Osiris even as the swathings which clothe him."

2 See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 213.]

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it rulers in . . . . Rekhit, on the (4) night when Isis lay down to keep watch in It order to make lamentation for her brother Osiris."

. Vignette: (1) The gods Isis, Horus, Anubis,[1] Mesthi, and Thoth.

Text: (1) The great godlike rulers who are in. . . . Rekhit are Isis, Horus, and Mestha.

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious (2) over his enemies, make thou the Osiris, the scribe Ani (triumphant in peace!), to be victorious over his enemies in the presence of the great godlike ones (3) who are in Abtu, on the night of the god Naker, at the separation of the wicked dead, at the judgment of spirits made just, (4) and at the arising of joy in Tenu."[2]

PLATE XIV.

. Vignette: The gods Osiris, Isis, and Ap-uat, and the TET.

Text [CHAPTER XVIII.]: (1) The great godlike rulers who are in Abtu are Osiris, Isis, and Ap-uat.

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious (2) over his enemies, make thou the Osiris Ani, the scribe and teller of the sacred offerings of all the gods, to be victorious (3) over his enemies in the presence of the godlike rulers who judge the dead, on the night of (4) the condemnation of those who are to be blotted out."

. Vignette: The gods Thoth, Osiris, Anubis, and Astennu.[2]

Text: (1) The great godlike rulers in the judgment of the dead are Thoth, Osiris, Anubis, and Astennu. Now (2) the "condemnation of those who are to be blotted out" is the withholding of that

which is so needful to the souls of the children of impotent revolt.

"(3) Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies, make thou the Osiris, the scribe Ani (triumphant!), to be victorious over his enemies in the

[1. Omitted on Plate XXIV.

2. ###, the capital of the eighth nome of Upper Egypt, situated near Abydos, and probably represented by the modem village of Kûm es-Sultân. It is the ### of the Coptic writers. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 951; and Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte*, p. 500.]

presence of the great godlike rulers, (4) on the festival of the breaking and turning up of the earth in Tattu, on the night of the breaking and turning up of the earth in their blood and of making Osiris to be victorious over his enemies."

. Vignette: The three gods of the festival of breaking up the earth in Tattu.

Text: (1) When the fiends of Set come and change themselves into beasts, the great godlike rulers, on the festival of the breaking and turning up of the earth in Tattu, (2) slay them in the presence of the gods therein, and their blood floweth among them as they are smitten down. (3) These things are allowed to be done by them by the judgment of those who are in Tattu.

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies, make thou the Osiris Ani to be victorious over his enemies in the presence of the godlike rulers (4) who are in Naarutef, on the night of him who concealeth himself in divers forms, even Osiris."[1]

� 1. Vignette: The gods Ra, Osiris, Shu, and Bebi,[2] dog-headed.

Text: (1) The great godlike rulers who are in Naarutef are Ra, Osiris, Shu, and Bebi.[3] Now the night of him who concealeth himself in divers forms, even Osiris," is when the thigh [and the head], and the heel, and the leg, are brought nigh unto the coffin of Osiris Un-nefer.

"Hail, Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious (3) over his enemies, make thou the Osiris Ani (triumphant before Osiris) victorious over his enemies in the presence of the great godlike rulers who are in (4) Re-stau, on the night when Anubis lay with his arms and his hands over the things behind Osiris, and it when Horus was made to triumph over his enemies."

. Vignette: The gods Horus, Osiris, Isis, and . . . . (?)

[1. Var. *en seseta aa aru*, "of making to be hidden the one mighty of forms" (*i.e.*, Osiris). See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Bl. 81.

2 Also written ###; see Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 387; Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 197.

3 Var. ### Ababi.]

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Text: (1) The great godlike rulers in Re-stau are Horus, Osiris, and Isis. The heart of Osiris rejoiceth, and the heart of Horus (2) is glad; and therefore are the east and the west at peace.

"Hail Thoth, who madest Osiris victorious over his enemies, (3) make thou the Osiris Ani, the scribe and teller of the divine offerings of all the gods, to triumph over his enemies in the presence of the ten (4) companies of great godlike rulers who are with Ra and with Osiris and with every god and goddess in the presence of Neb-er-tcher. He hath destroyed his (5) enemies, and he hath destroyed every evil thing belonging unto him."

Rubric: This chapter being recited, the deceased shall come forth by day, purified after death, and [he shall make all] the forms[1] (or transformations) which his heart shall dictate. Now if this chapter be recited over him, he shall come forth[2] upon earth, he shall escape from every fire; and none of the foul things which appertain unto him shall encompass him for everlasting[3] and for ever and for ever.

PLATE XV.

Vignette: A seated statue of Ani, the scribe, upon which the ceremony of opening the mouth"[4] *un re*, is being performed by the *sem*[5] priest, clad in a panther's skin and holding in his right hand the instrument *Ur heka*[6] *i.e.*, "mighty one of enchantments." In front of the statue are: the

[1. Var. *arit xeperuf*.

2. The Papyrus of Nebseni has the better reading *ufa pu tep ta*, "he shall be in a good state upon earth."

3. Brugsch renders *em shes maat* by "sicut oequum et justum est"; *Wörterbuch* (Supp.), p. 1203.

4. For a description of this ceremony, see above, pp. 264-270.

5. Compare ### Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 34. In British Museum papyrus No. 10,470, sheet 8, the god Horus performs this ceremony upon the deceased, who is upon a stool.

6. See above, p. 264.]

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sepulchral chest, the instruments Seb-ur, Tun-tet, and Temanu, and the object Pesh-en-kef.[1]

Text [CHAPTER XXIII.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF OPENING THE MOUTH OF OSIRIS, THE SCRIBE ANI. To be said:[2] "May Ptah open my mouth, and may the god of my town[3] loose the swathings, even the swathings[4] which are over my mouth (2). Moreover, may Thoth,

being filled and furnished with charms, come and loose the bandages, the bandages of Set which fetter my mouth (3); and may the god Tmu hurl them' at those who would fetter [me] with them, and drive them back. May my mouth be opened, may my mouth be unclosed by Shu[6] (4) with his iron[7] knife, wherewith he opened the mouth of the gods. I am Sekhet,[8] and I sit upon the great western side of heaven. (5) 1 am the great goddess Sah[9] among the souls of Annu. Now as concerning every charm and all the words which may be spoken against me (6), may the gods resist them, and may each and every one of the company of the gods withstand it them."[10]

Text [CHAPTER XXIV.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF BRINGING CHARMS UNTO OSIRIS ANI [IN NETER-KHERT]. [He saith]: "I am Tmu[11]-Khepera, who gave birth unto himself upon the thigh of his divine mother.[12] Those who are in Nu[13]are made wolves, and those who are among the godlike rulers (3) are become

[1. See above, p. 264.

2. Var. "he saith."

3. Var., "By Amen, the god of my town"; Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Pl. xiv.

4. Var., *netiu*.

5. Var., May Tmu give me my hand to shoot them at those who fetter [me]. May my mouth be given to me, may my mouth be opened."

6. Var., O Ptah.

7. Literally " iron of heaven " (*baat en pet* = Copt. ###); for discussions on the word, see Dümichen, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1874, p. 49, and the authorities quoted by Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*(Suppl.), p. 416.

8. The papyrus of Nebseni adds Uatchit.

9. Var., ###.

10. Var., "Them may the gods resist, and all the company of my gods, and all the company of their gods."

11. Many papyri omit Tmu.

12. Birch, "on the lap of his mother"; Pierret, "en haut de la cuisse de sa mère."

13. *I.e.*, the sky.]

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hyenas.[1] Behold, I gather together the charm from every place where it is and from every man with whom it is,[2]' swifter than greyhounds and fleeter than light. (4) Hail thou who towest along the *makhent* boat of Ra, the stays of thy sails and of thy rudder are taut in the wind as thou sailest over the Lake of Fire in Neter-khert. Behold, thou gatherest together the charm (5) from every place where it is and from every man with whom it is, swifter than greyhounds and fleeter than light, [the charm] which createth the forms of existence from the (6) mother's thigh (?) and createth the gods from (or in) silence, and which giveth the heat of life unto the gods.[3] Behold, the charm is given unto me from

wheresoever it is [and from him with whom it is], swifter than greyhounds and fleeter than light," or, (as others say), " fleeter than a shadow."

Appendix: The following chapter, which generally appears in other early copies of the Book of the Dead, is closely connected with the preceding chapter. It is here taken from the Papyrus of Nebseni.

(1) [CHAPTER XXV.] THE CHAPTER OF CAUSING THE DECEASED TO REMEMBER HIS (2) NAME IN NETER-KHERT. [He saith]: "May my name be given unto me in the great Double House, and may I remember my name in the House of Fire on the (3) night of counting the years and of telling the number of the months. I am with the Holy One, and I sit on the eastern side of heaven. If any god advanceth unto me, (4) forthwith I proclaim his name."

Vignette: The scribe Ani, clothed in white, and with his heart in his right hand, addressing the god Anubis.[4] Between them is a necklace of several rows of

[1. Var. *behiu*, an animal which is identified with the *hyaena croenta* by Hartmann (see Aeg. Zeit., 1864, p. 12, Col. 2).

2. Reading with the Nebseni papyrus ###.

3. Here the text is different from any given by Naville. The chief variants are ###, "which createth the gods from (or in) silence, and which maketh

them powerless"; and ### "which maketh the gods to speak [from being] silent, and which maketh them speechless."

4. In the vignettes of this chapter published by M. Naville (*Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 38) the deceased is represented: (1) seated, and addressing his heart, which stands on a support; (2) standing, holding in his hands a heart, which he offers to three deities. Another vignette represents a priest tying a heart on to a statue of the deceased; and in the late recension of the Book of the Dead published by Lepsius (Bl. 15) the deceased holds a heart to his left side and addresses a human-headed hawk emblematic of the soul.]

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coloured beads, the clasp of which is in the shape of a pylon or gateway, and to which is attached a pectoral bearing a representation of the boat of the sun, wherein is set a scarab, emblematic of the Sun.[1]

Text [CHAPTER XXVII: (1) CHAPTER OF GIVING A HEART UNTO OSIRIS ANI (2) IN THE UNDERWORLD. [Ani saith]: "May my heart be with me in the House of Hearts.[2] May my heart be with me, and may it rest in [me], or I shall not eat of the cakes of Osiris on the eastern[3] side of the Lake of Flowers,[4] (3) [neither shall I have] a boat wherein to go down the Nile, and another wherein to go up, nor shall I go forward in the boat with thee. May my mouth be given unto me that I may (4) speak with it, and my two feet to it walk withal, and my two hands and arms to overthrow my foe. May the doors of heaven be opened unto me[5](5); may Seb, the

Prince of the gods, open wide his two jaws unto me; may he open my two eyes which are blinded; may he cause me to stretch out my (6) feet which are bound together; and may Anubis make my legs firm that I may stand upon them. May the goddess Sekhet make me to rise (7) so that I may ascend unto heaven, and there may that be done which I command in the House of the *Ka* of Ptah.[6] I know my heart, I have gotten the mastery over (8) my heart, I have gotten the mastery over my two hands and arms, I have gotten the mastery over my feet, and I have gained the power to do whatsoever my ka pleaseth. (9) My soul shall not be shut off from my body at the gates of the underworld; but I shall enter in peace, and I shall come forth in peace."

[1. A very fine set of examples of blue, green, and yellow glazed *faïence* pectorals inlaid with scarabs is exhibited in the Fourth Egyptian Room.

2. *I.e.*, the judgment hall of Osiris, in which hearts were weighed.

3. Var. "West."

4. On the word ### see Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* (Suppl.), p. 1289, and Stern, *Glossarium*, p. 19, col. 2, where the various kinds of this sweet-smelling plant are enumerated.

5 Var. ### "May my two hands open [my] mouth in the earth": Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. 11., Bl. 90.

6. *I.e.*, the heavenly Memphis.]

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Text: [CHAPTER XXXB.]. (I) THE CHAPTER[1] OF NOT LETTING (2) THE HEART OF OSIRIS, THE SCRIBE OF THE SACRED OFFERINGS OF ALL THE GODS, ANI, TRIUMPHANT, BE DRIVEN FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. Ani saith: "My heart, my mother; my heart, my mother (3). My heart whereby I come into being. May there be nothing to withstand me at [my] judgment; may there be no, resistance against me by the Tchatcha; may there be no parting of thee from me in the presence of him who keepeth the Scales! Thou art my *ka* within (4) my body, [which] knitteth and strengtheneth my limbs. Mayest thou come forth in the place of happiness [to which] I advance. May the*Shenit*,[2] who make men to stand fast, not cause my name to stink."[3]

Vignette: Ani holding his soul in the form of a human-headed bird.

Text: [CHAPTER LXI.] (I) CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE SOUL OF A MAN BE TAKEN AWAY FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. Osiris the scribe Ani saith: "I, even I, am he (2) who came forth from the water-flood which I make to overflow and which becometh mighty as the River [Nile]."

Appendix; In many early papyri the text of Chapter LXI. forms part of a longer composition which M. Naville calls Chapters LXI.,[4] LX.,[5] and LXII.,[6] and which reads:--

(1) CHAPTER OF DRINKING WATER IN THE UNDERWORLD. [He saith]: "I, even I, am he who cometh forth from (2) Seb. The flood hath been given unto him,

[1. This chapter is usually accompanied by a vignette. In that in the papyrus of Nebseni the deceased is being weighed against his own heart; an ape, "Thoth, lord of the Balance," seated on a pedestal, holds the tongue of the balance. In British Museum Papyrus No. 9964 the deceased is also weighed against his own heart, but at the same time a figure of himself is also watching the process. In the papyrus of Sutimes a square weight lies in each pan of the scales. Other vignettes have simply a scarab, or the deceased addressing his heart, which rests on a standard. See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 43.

2. A class of divine beings.

3. The chapter as here given is incomplete; the missing words are: "pleasant for us, pleasant is the hearing, and there is gladness of heart at the weighing of words. Let not lies be spoken against me near the god, in the presence of the great god, the lord of Amentet. Verily, how great shalt thou be when thou risest up in triumph!"

4. The vignette represents the deceased on his knees embracing his soul.

5. Vignette: a man kneeling and holding a lotus.

6. Vignettes: the deceased scooping water with his hands out of a tank.]

and he hath gotten power over it as Hapi. I, even I, open the (3) two doors of heaven: and the two doors of the watery abyss have been opened unto me by Thoth and by Hapi, the divine twin sons of heaven, (4) who are mighty in splendours. O grant ye that I may gain power over the water, even as Set overcame his foes on the day(?) (5) when he terrified the world. I have passed by the great ones shoulder against shoulder, even as they have passed

by that great and splendid god who is (6) provided [with all things] and whose name is unknown. I have passed by the mighty one of the shoulder. (7) The flood of Osiris hath been passed through by me, and Thoth-Hapi-Tmu, the lord of the horizon, hath opened unto me the flood in his name, 'Thoth, the cleaver of the earth.' (8) I have gained power over the water, even as Set gained power over his foes. I have sailed over heaven. I am Ra. I am the Lion-god. I am the young bull (9). I have devoured the Thigh, I have seized the flesh. I have gone round about the streams in Seket-Aru. Boundless eternity hath been granted unto me, and, behold, (10) I am the heir of eternity; to me hath been given everlastingness."

Closely connected with the above chapter are the two following short chapters:--[1]

Vignette: The deceased drinking water from a running stream.

Text [CHAPTER LXIIIA.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF DRINKING WATER AND OF NOT BEING BURNED IN THE FIRE. [The deceased] saith: "Hail, Bull of Amenta. I am brought unto thee, I am the oar of Ra (3) wherewith he ferried over the aged ones; let me not be buried nor consumed. I am Beb,[2] (4) the first-born son of Osiris, who doth wash every god within his eye in Annu. I am the Heir, (5) the exalted (?), the mighty one, the Still [of Heart]. I have made my name to

flourish, and I have delivered [it], that I may make myself to live [in remembrance] on this day."

Vignette: The deceased standing near flames of fire.

Text [CHAPTER LXIIIB.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF NOT BEING SCALDED WITH WATER. [He saith]: "I am the oar (2) made ready for rowing, wherewith Ra ferried over the Aged godlike ones. (3) I carry the moistures of Osiris to the lake away from the flame which cannot be passed (4); he is turned aside from the path thereof and he is not burned in the fire. I lie down with the *hamemu*; (5) I come unto the Lion's lair, killing and binding; and I follow the path by which he came forth."

Vignette: Ani carrying a sail, emblematic of breath and air.

Text [CHAPTER LIV.]: (1) CHAPTER OF GIVING BREATH IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani: "I am the Egg of the Great Cackler, and I watch and guard that

[1. For the texts see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bll. 73, 74.

2. The variants are ### and ###.]

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great place[1] (2) which the god Seb hath proclaimed upon earth. I live; and it liveth; I grow strong, I live, I sniff the air. I am (3) Utcha-aab,[2] and I go round behind [to protect] his egg. I have thwarted the chance of Set, the mighty one of strength. (4) Hail thou who makest pleasant the world with *tchefa* food, and who dwellest in the blue [sky]; watch over the babe in his cot when he cometh forth unto thee."

Appendix: The two following chapters, which are closely connected with the preceding chapter, are respectively supplied from Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., 131. 67, and the Nebseni Papyrus.

Vignette: Anubis leading the deceased into the presence of Osiris.

Text: [CHAPTER LV.]: (I) ANOTHER CHAPTER OF GIVING BREATH. [He saith]: "I am Sabsabu. I am Shu. (2) I draw in the air in the presence of the god of sunbeams as far as the uttermost ends of heaven, as far as the ends of the earth, as far as the bounds of Shu (3); and I give breath unto those who become young [again]. I open my mouth, and I see with mine eyes."[3]

Vignette: A man holding a sail in his left hand.

Text [CHAPTER LVI.]: CHAPTER OF SNIFFING THE AIR UPON EARTH. [He saith]: "(2) Hail, Tmu, grant thou unto me the sweet breath which is in thy two nostrils. I embrace the mighty throne which is in Unnu,[4] and I watch and guard the Egg of the Great Cackler. I grow, and it groweth; it groweth, and I grow; I live, and it liveth; I sniff the air, and it sniffeth the air."

Vignette: Ani standing, with a staff in his left hand.

Text [CHAPTER XXIX.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF A MAN BE TAKEN AWAY FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "Turn thou back, O messenger of all the gods. (2) Is it that thou art come to carry away[5] this my heart which liveth? My heart which liveth

[1. The text of Lepsius gives "I guard that great egg," *etc.*

2. The variant text given by Naville indicates by that these words are the name or title of a god. Birch translates them by "Discriminator of Purity," and Pierret by "le sauvé dont le nom est pur."

3. For the texts see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bll. 67, 68, 69.

4. Hermopolis.

5. In a variant vignette given by Naville the deceased holding his heart in both hands offers it to three gods; and in another a man is about to fasten a necklace with a pendent heart to the statue of the deceased.]

shall not be given unto thee. (3) [As I] advance, the gods give ear unto my supplications, and they fall down upon their faces wheresoever they be."

PLATE XVI.

Vignette: Ani standing, with both hands raised in prayer, before four gods who are seated on a pedestal in the form of Maat; before him is his heart set upon a pedestal.

Text [CHAPTER XXVII.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF A MAN BE TAKEN AWAY FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD.[1] Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, ye who carry away hearts, [hail] ye who steal hearts! (2) ye have done.[2] Homage to you, O ye lords of eternity, ye possessors of everlastingness, " take ye not away this heart of Osiris Ani (3) in your grasp, this heart of Osiris. And cause ye not evil words to spring up against it; because this heart of Osiris Ani is the heart of the one of many names, the mighty one whose words are his limbs, and who sendeth forth his heart to dwell in (4) his body. {???} heart of Osiris Ani is pleasant unto the gods; he is victorious, he hath {???} gotten power over it; he hath not revealed what hath been done unto it. He {???} gotten power (5) over his own limbs. His heart obeyeth him, he is the lord thereof, it is in his body, and it shall never fall away

therefrom. I, Osiris, the scribe Ani, victorious in peace, and triumphant in the beautiful Amenta and on the mountain of eternity, bid thee be obedient unto me in the underworld."

Appendix: The three following chapters, which do not occur in the Ani papyrus, form part of the group of the chapters relating to the heart. They are here supplied from Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Pl. xl., xlii., xxxix.

[1. In Naville's edition there follow the words *hab-nef ab-f xenti xat-f temam ab-f er neteru sexem am-f*, "his heart goeth to inhabit his body; his heart is perfect before the gods, he gaineth possession of it."

2. The reading of Naville's edition is better here. "Ye who steal hearts, and who make the heart of a man to come into existence according to that which hath been done by him; may it (*i.e.*, his heart) be made strong by you."]

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Text [CHAPTER XXIXA.]:[1] (1) THE CHAPTER OF THE HEART NOT BEING CARRIED AWAY IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith: "My heart (2) is with me, and it shall never come to pass that it shall be carried away. I am the lord of hearts, the slayer of the heart. (3) I live in right and in truth, and I have my being therein. I am Horus, a pure heart (4) within a pure body. I live by my word, and my heart doth live. Let not my heart be taken away (5), let it not be wounded, and may no wounds or gashes be dealt upon me because it hath been

taken away[2] from me. (6) May I exist in the body of my father Seb, and in the body of my mother Nut. I have not done evil (7) against the gods; I have not sinned with boasting."

Vignette: The deceased adoring a heart.

Text [CHAPTER XXXA.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF NOT (2) LETTING THE HEART OF A MAN BE DRIVEN AWAY FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. [He saith]: "My heart, my mother; my heart, my mother. My heart of my life upon earth. May naught rise up (3) against me in judgment in the presence of the lord of the trial; let it not be said concerning me and of that which I have done. 'He hath done deeds against that which is right and true'; may naught be against me in the presence of the great god, the lord of Amenta. Homage to thee, O my heart! Homage to thee, O my heart! Homage to you, O my reins![3] Homage to you, O ye gods who rule over the divine clouds, and who (5) are exalted by reason of your sceptres; speak ye comfortably unto Ra, and make me to prosper before Nehebka." And behold him, even though he be joined to the earth in the innermost parts thereof, and though he be laid upon it, he is not dead in Amenta, but is a glorified being therein.

Vignette: The deceased holding his heart to his breast with his left hand, and kneeling before a monster with a knife in its hand.

Text [CHAPTER XXVIII.]: (1) [THE CHAPTER OF] NOT LETTING THE HEART OF THE DECEASED BE CARRIED AWAY IN THE UNDERWORLD. [Saith he]: (2) "Hail, Lion-god! I am Un.[4] That which I hate is the block of the god. Let not this my heart be taken away from me by (3) the Fighter[5] in Annu. Hail thou who dost bind Osiris, and who hast seen Set! Hail thou who returnest after smiting and destroying him. (4) This heart sitteth and weepeth in the presence of Osiris; it hath with it the staff for which it entreated him. May there be given unto me for it, may there be decreed unto me for it the hidden things[6] of the heart in the (5) house of Usekh-hra; may

[1. See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 40.

2. Understanding some word like ###; see the text in Lepsius.

3. Brugsch believes that the word means the liver or kidneys, or some special organ.; see *Wörterbuch*, p. 421.

4. Reading; another variant has "I am Ra."

5 *I.e.*, the being represented in the vignette.

6 Var. *ta ab*, "warmth of heart."]

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there be granted unto it food at the bidding of the Eight.[1] Let not this my heart be "taken from me! I make thee to dwell in thy place, joining together hearts in (6) Sekhet-hetepu, and years

of strength in all places of strength, carrying away food (?) at thy it moment with thy hand according to thy great strength. My heart is placed upon the altars of Tmu (7), who leadeth it to the den of Set; he hath given unto me my heart, whose will hath been done by the godlike rulers in Neter-khert. When they find the leg[2] and the swathings they bury them."

Vignette: Ani and his wife Thuthu, each holding the emblem of air in the left hand, and drinking water with the right from a pool, on the borders of which are palm trees laden with fruit.

Text [CHAPTER LVIII.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF BREATHING THE AIR AND OF HAVING POWER OVER THE WATER IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani: "Open to me! Who art thou then, and whither dost thou fare? (2) I am one of you. Who is it with thee? It is Merti. Separate thou from him, each from each, when thou enterest the Mesqen. He letteth me sail to the temple of the divine beings who have found their faces(?). (4) The name of the boat is 'Assembler of Souls'; the name of the oars is 'Making the hair to stand on end'; the name it of the hold is 'Good'; (5) and the name of the rudder is 'Making straight for the middle' . . . . . . [3] . . . . . . (6) Grant ye to me vessels of milk together with cakes, loaves of bread, cups of drink, and flesh in the temple of (7) Anubis."

Rubric: If this chapter be known [by Ani] he shall go in after having come forth from the underworld.

Vignette: Ani kneeling beside a pool of water, where grows a sycamore tree; in the tree appears the goddess Nut pouring water into Ani's hands from a vessel

[1. Var. *Re xemennu*, "Mouth of Hermopolis."

2. This meaning is indicated by the determinative in the variant given by Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Bl. 95. The whole sentence may be a rubrical direction.

3 The text here appears to be corrupt, or at least some words have been omitted, for the equivalent passage in Lepsius reads ###. The variant reading indicated by *ki t'et* shows that this passage offered difficulties to the ancient Egyptian readers.]

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Text [CHAPTER LIX.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF SNIFFING THE AIR, AND OF GETTING POWER OVER THE WATERS IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, sycamore tree of the goddess Nut! Grant thou to me of the water and the air which are in (2) thee. I embrace thy throne which is in Unnu,[I] and I watch and guard (3) the egg of the Great Cackler. It groweth, I grow; it liveth, I live; (4) it sniffeth the air, I sniff the air, I the Osiris Ani, in triumph."

Vignette: Ani seated upon a chair before a table of offerings; [2] in his right hand he holds the *kherp* sceptre[3] and in his left a staff.

Text [CHAPTER XLIV]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF NOT DYING A SECOND TIME IN THE UNDERWORLD.[4] Saith Osiris Ani: "My place of hiding is opened, my place of hiding is revealed! Light hath shone (2) in the darkness. The eye of Horus hath ordered my coming into being, and the god Apuat hath nursed me. I have hidden (3) myself with you, O ye stars that never set. My brow is like unto that of Ra; my face is open; (4) my heart is upon its throne; I utter words, and I know; in very truth, I am Ra himself. I am not treated with scorn, (5) and violence is not done unto me. Thy father, the son of Nut, liveth for thee. I am thy first-born, (6) and I see thy mysteries. I am crowned like unto the king of the gods, and I shall not die a second time in the underworld."

Vignette: The mummy of Ani embraced by Anubis, the god of the dead.

Text [CHAPTER XLV.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF NOT CORRUPTING IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani: "O thou who art without motion like unto Osiris! O thou who art without motion like unto Osiris! (2) O thou whose

[1. *I.e.*, Hermopolis.

2. For an account of the manner in which altars and other objects were represented on Egyptian monuments, see Borchardt, *Die Darstellung innen verzierter Schalen aus Aegyptischen Denkmätern* (in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXXI., 1893, p. 1).

3. For a kherp sceptre in bronze, see No. 22,842 in the 2nd Egyptian Room.

4. Chapters CLXXV. and CLXXVI. bear the same title. For Chapter CLXXV. see Plate XXIX.

Chapter CLXXVI. (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Pl. cc.) reads:--

"What I hate is the land of Abydos. May I never enter into the den, and may there never be done unto me any of those things which the gods hate, for I am . . . . pure within the Mesqet. May Neb-er-tcher give unto me his splendours on the day of the funeral in the presence of the Lord of Things."

"If this chapter be known [he] shall be in the condition of one who is acquitted in the underworld."]

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limbs are without motion like unto [those of] Osiris! Let not thy limbs be (3) without motion, let them not corrupt, let them not pass away, let them not decay; let it be (4) done unto me even as if I were the god Osiris."

Rubric: If this chapter be known by the Osiris Ani, he shall not corrupt in the underworld.

Vignette: A doorway. By one post stands the soul of Ani in the form of a human-headed hawk and by the other the bird.

Text: [CHAPTER XLVI.] (I) THE CHAPTER OF NOT PERISHING AND OF BECOMING ALIVE IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, (2) children of:' Shu! Hail, children of Shu, [children of] the place of the dawn, who as the children of light have gained possession of his crown. May I rise up and may I fare forth like Osiris."

Vignette: Ani the scribe standing with his back to a block and knife

Text: [CHAPTER XL.] (I) THE CHAPTER OF NOT ENTERING IN UNTO THE BLOCK. Saith Osiris Ani: "The four bones[1] of my neck and of my back are joined together for me in heaven by Ra, the guardian of the earth. (2) This was granted on the day when my rising up out of weakness upon my two feet was ordered, on the day (3) when the hair was cut off. The bones of my neck and of my back have been joined together by Set and by the company of the gods, even as they were (4) in the time that is past; may nothing happen to break them apart. Make ye [me] strong against my father's murderer. I have gotten power over the two earths. Nut hath joined together my bones, and [I] behold [them] as they were in the time that is past [and I] see [them] even in the same order as they were [when] the gods had not come into being (6) in visible forms.[2] I am

Penti, I, Osiris the scribe Ani, triumphant, am the heir of the great gods."

PLATE XVII.

Vignette: Ani standing in adoration before three gods, each of whom holds a sceptre in his left hand, and the symbol of life in his right.

[1. Adding *thest ftu*, from the papyrus of Nebseni.

2. Var. ### *axemu*. this word see Brugsch, *Wörterbuch* (Suppl.), p. 279.]

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Text [CHAPTER XCIII.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING A MAN PASS OVER TO THE EAST IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, manhood of (2) Ra, which advanceth and beateth down opposition; things which have been without movement for millions of years come into being through the god Baba. Hereby am I made stronger than (3) the strong, and hereby have I more power than they who are mighty. And therefore neither shall I be borne away nor carried by force to the East, to take part in the festivals of the fiends; (4) nor shall there [be given unto me] cruel gashes with knives, nor shall I be shut in on every side, nor gored by the horns [of the god Khepera]". . . . .[1]

Vignette: Ani adoring a god in a boat whose head is turned face backwards.

Text [CHAPTER XCIIIA.]: ANOTHER CHAPTER.[2] [Saith Osiris Ani]: "So then shall no evil things be done unto me by the fiends, neither shall I (6) be gored by the horns [of Khepera]; and the manhood of Ra, which is the head of Osiris, shall not be swallowed up. Behold me, (7) I enter into my homestead, and I reap the harvest. The gods speak with me. (8) Gore thou not them, O Ra-khepera. In very truth sickness shall not arise in the eye of Tmu nor shall it (9) be destroyed. Let me be brought to an end, may I not be carried into the East to take part in the festivals of the fiends who are my enemies (10); may no cruel gashes be made in me. I, Osiris, the scribe Ani, the teller of the divine offerings of all the gods, triumphant with happy victory, the lord to be revered. am not carried away into the East."

Text [CHAPTER XLIII.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEAD OF A MAN BE CUT OFF FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani: (2) "I am the great One, son of the great One; I am Fire, the son of Fire, to whom was (3) given his head after it had been cut off. The head of Osiris was not carried away from him; let not the head of Osiris Ani (4) be carried away from him. I have knit together

my bones, I have made myself whole and sound; I have become young once more; I am Osiris, the Lord of eternity."

Vignette: The mummy of Ani lying on a bier; above is his soul in the form of a human-headed bird, holding *shen*, the emblem of eternity, in its claws. At the head and foot stands an incense burner with fire in it.

[1. The text of the rest of this chapter is corrupt.

2. In other early papyri these two chapters form one; the division probably arose from a blunder on the part of the scribe.]

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Text [CHAPTER LXXXIX.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF CAUSING THE SOUL TO BE UNITED TO ITS BODY IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, thou god Annitu! Hail, O Runner, (2) dwelling in thy hall! O thou great god, grant thou " that my soul may come unto me from wheresoever it may be. If it would tarry, then bring thou unto me (3) my soul from wheresoever it may be. [If] thou findest [me], O Eye of Horus, make thou me to stand up like those beings who are like unto Osiris and who never lie down in death. Let not (4) Osiris Ani, triumphant, triumphant, lie down in death in Annu, the land wherein souls are joined unto their bodies, even in thousands. My soul doth bear away with it my victorious spirit

(5) whithersoever it goeth[1] . . . . (6) If it would tarry, grant thou that my soul may look upon my body. [If] thou findest [me], O Eye of Horus, make thou me to stand up like unto those[1] . . . . (7) Hail, ye gods, who row in the boat of the lord of millions of years, who tow it (8) above the underworld, who make it to pass over the ways of Nu, who make souls to enter into their glorified bodies, (9) whose hands are filled with righteousness, and whose fingers grasp your sceptres, destroy ye (10) the foe. The boat of the Sun rejoiceth, and the great god advanceth in peace. Behold [ye gods], grant that this soul of Osiris Ani (11) may come forth triumphant before the gods, and triumphant before you, from the eastern horizon of heaven, to follow unto the place where it was yesterday, in peace, in peace, in Amenta. (12) May he behold his body, may he rest in his glorified frame, may he never perish, and may his body never see corruption."

Rubric: To be said over a golden [figure of a] soul inlaid with precious stones, which is to be placed on the neck of Osiris.

Vignette: Ani's soul, in the form of a human-headed bird, standing in front of a pylon.[2]

[1. Some words are omitted here.

2. The three following variants show: (1) the soul flying through the door of the tomb to the deceased; (2) the deceased, accompanied by his soul,

standing at the open door of the tomb; and (3) the deceased, with his soul hovering over him, standing with his back to the door of the tomb, upon which is the disk of the rayed sun.

{Illustrations}

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Text [CHAPTER XCI.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE SOUL OF A MAN BE CAPTIVE IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail thou who art exalted, thou who art adored, (2) thou mighty one of souls, thou Ram (or Soul), possessor of terrible power, who dost put fear of thee into the hearts of the gods, thou who art crowned upon thy mighty throne! It is he who maketh the path for the *khu* and for (3) the soul of Osiris Ani. I am furnished [with that which I need], I am a *khu* furnished [with that which I need], I have made my way unto the place wherein are Ra and Hathor."

Rubric: If this chapter be known, Ani shall become like unto a shining being fully equipped in the underworld. He shall not be stopped at any door in the underworld from going in and coming out millions of times.

Vignette:[1] Ani standing at the doorway of the tomb; and Ani's shadow, accompanied by his soul.

Text [CHAPTER XCII.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF OPENING THE TOMB TO THE SOUL OF THE SHADOW, OF COMING FORTH BY DAY, AND OF GETTING POWER OVER THE LEGS. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: "(2) The place of bondage is opened, that which was shut is opened,[2] and; the place of bondage is opened unto my soul [according to the bidding of][3] the eye of Horus. I have bound and stablished (3) glories upon the brow of Ra. [My] steps are made long, [my] thighs are lifted up; I have passed along the great path, and my limbs are strong. (4) 1 am Horus, the avenger of his father, and I bring the *ureret* crown to rest upon its place. The path of souls is opened [to my soul]."

PLATE XVIII.

My soul (5) seeth the great god within the boat of Ra on the day of souls. My soul is (6) in the front among those who tell the years. Come; the eye of Horus, which stablisheth glories (7) upon the brow of Ra and rays of light upon the faces of those who are with the limbs of Osiris, hath delivered my soul. (8) O shut ye not in my soul, fetter ye not my shade (9) may it behold the great god

[1. See Plate XVIII.

2 The reading of the Nebseni papyrus is ###.

3 Adding ### from the Nebseni papyrus.]

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within the shrine on the day of the judgment of souls, may it repeat the words of Osiris. (10) May those beings whose dwelling-places are hidden, who fetter the limbs of Osiris, who fetter the souls of the khu, who shut in (11) the shade[s] of the dead and can do evil unto me-may they do no evil unto me, may they turn away their path from me. Thy heart (12) is with thee; may my soul and my khu be prepared against their attack. May I sit down among the great rulers who (13) dwell in their abodes; may my soul not be set in bondage by those who fetter the limbs of Osiris, and who fetter souls, and who shut in (14) the shade[s] of the dead. The place which thou possessest, is it not Heaven? "

Rubric: If this chapter be known, he shall come forth by day and his soul shall not be shut in.

Vignette: Ani kneeling, with both hands raised in adoration, by the side of the Seker[1] boat placed upon its sledge.

Text [CHAPTER LXXIV.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF WALKING WITH THE TWO LEGS, AND OF COMING FORTH UPON EARTH. Saith Osiris Ani: "Thou hast done all thy work, O Seker, thou hast done all thy work, O Seker,

in thy dwelling place within my legs in the (2) underworld. I shine above the Leg[2] of the Sky, I come forth from heaven; I recline with the glorified (3) spirits. Alas! I am weak and feeble; alas! I am weak and feeble. I walk. I am weak and feeble in the (4) presence of those who gnash with the teeth in the underworld, I Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace."

Vignette: The emblem of Amenta and Ani standing with a staff in his left hand.

Text [CHAPTER VIII.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF PASSING THROUGH AMENTA, AND OF COMING FORTH BY DAY. Saith Osiris Ani: "The hour (?) openeth; (2) the head of Thoth is sealed up; perfect is the eye of Horus. I have delivered the eye of Horus which shineth with splendours on the forehead of Ra, (3) the father of the gods. I am the same Osiris, dwelling in Amenta. Osiris knoweth his day and that he shall not live therein; nor shall I live therein. (4) I am the Moon among the gods; I shall not come to an end. Stand up, therefore, O Horus; Osiris hath counted thee among the gods."

[1. The god Seker was a form of the night sun, like Ptah, Osiris and Tanen; see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, P. 1113.

2 The name of a constellation.]

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Text [CHAPTER II. (1) THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY, AND OF LIVING AFTER DEATH. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail, Only One, shining from the Moon! (2) Hail, Only One, shining from the Moon! Grant that this Osiris Ani may come forth among the multitudes which are round about thee; (3) let him be established as a dweller among the shining ones; and let the underworld be opened unto him. And behold Osiris, (4) Osiris Ani shall come forth by day to do his will upon earth among the living."

Vignette: Ani, standing with both hands raised in adoration before a ram crowned with plumes and disk; in front of the ram is a table, upon which are a libation vase and a lotus flower.

Text [CHAPTER IX.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY, HAVING PASSED THROUGH THE TOMB. Saith Osiris Ani: "Hail Soul, thou mighty one of strength! (2) Verily I am here, I have come, I behold thee. I have passed through the underworld, I have seen [my] father (3) Osiris, I have scattered the gloom of night. I am his beloved one. I have come; I behold my father (4) Osiris. I have stabbed Set to the heart. I have done the things [needed] by my father Osiris. (5) I have opened every way in heaven and upon earth. I am the son beloved of his father Osiris (6). I have become a ruler, I have become glorious, I am furnished [with what I need]. Hail,

all ye gods, and all ye shining ones, make ye a way for me, the Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant."

Vignette: Ani, with a staff in his left hand, standing before a door.

Text [CHAPTER CXXXII.]: THE CHAPTER OF MAKING A MAN TO RETURN TO SEE AGAIN HIS HOME UPON EARTH. Saith Osiris Ani: "I am the Lion-god (2) coming forth with strides. I have shot forth arrows, I have wounded [the prey], I have wounded the prey. I am the Eye of Horus; I have opened the (3) eye of Horus in his hour. I am come unto the furrows. Let Osiris Ani come in peace."

Vignette: Ani piercing a serpent.

Text [CHAPTER X. [XLVIII.]: ANOTHER CHAPTER OF ONE WHO COMETH FORTH BY DAY AGAINST HIS FOES IN THE UNDERWORLD. Saith Osiris Ani: "I have divided the heavens, (2) I have passed through the horizon, I have traversed the earth, [following] upon his footsteps. I am borne away by the mighty and shining ones because, behold, (3) I am furnished with millions of years which

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have magic virtues. I eat with my mouth, I chew with my jaws; and, behold, (4) I am the god who is the lord of the underworld: May there be given unto me, Osiris Ani, that which abideth for ever without corruption."

PLATE XIX.

Vignette: Ani standing, with both hands raised in adoration, before Ra, hawk-headed and seated in a boat floating upon the sky. On the bows sits Heru-pa-khrat (Harpocrates) or, "Horus the child"; and the side is ornamented with feathers of Maat, and the *utchat*. The handles of the oars and the tops of the rowlocks are shaped as hawks' heads, and on the blades of the oars are ###.

Text [CHAPTER XV.]: (I) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH UPON THE HORIZON, AND WHEN HE SETTETH IN THE [LAND OF] LIFE. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani: "Homage to thee, O Ra, (2) when thou risest [as] Tmu-Heru-khuti (Harmachis), Thou art adored [by me] when thy beauties are before mine eyes, and when thy shining rays (3) [fall] upon my body. Thou goest forth in peace in the *Sektet* boat with [fair] winds, and thy heart is glad; [thou goest forth] in the *Atet* boat, (4) and its heart is glad. Thou stridest over the heavens in peace, and thy foes are cast down; the never-resting stars (5) sing hymns of praise unto thee, and the stars which never

set glorify thee as thou (6) sinkest in the horizon of Manu, O thou who art beautiful in the two parts of heaven, thou lord who livest and art established, O my lord! Homage to thee, O thou who art Ra when thou risest, and Tmu (7) when thou settest in beauty. Thou risest and shinest upon the back of thy mother [the sky], O thou who art crowned king (8) of the gods. Nut doth homage unto thee, and everlasting and never-changing order embraceth thee at morn and at eve. Thou stridest over the heaven, being glad of heart, and the Lake (9) Testes is at peace. The Fiend hath fallen to the ground; his arms and his hands have been hewn off, and the knife hath severed the joints of his body. Ra hath a fair wind (10); the *Sektet* boat goeth forth and sailing along it cometh into port. The gods of the south and of the north, of the west and of the east praise thee, (11) from whom all forms of life came into being. Thou sendest forth the word, and the earth is flooded with silence, O thou only One, who livedst in heaven before ever the earth and the mountains were made. (12) O Runner, Lord, only One, thou maker of things which are, thou hast moulded the tongue of the company of the gods, thou hast drawn forth whatsoever cometh from the waters, and thou springest up from them over the flooded land of the Lake of Horus (13). Make me to sniff the air which cometh forth from thy nostrils, and the north wind which cometh forth from thy

mother [the Sky]. Make thou glorious my shining form, O Osiris, make thou (14) strong my soul. Thou art worshipped in peace, O lord of the gods, thou art exalted by reason of thy wondrous works. Shine with thy rays of light upon my body day by day, upon me, (15) Osiris, the scribe, the teller of the divine offerings it of all the gods, the overseer of the granary of the lords of Abydos, the royal it scribe in truth, who loveth him (*i.e.*, Ra); Ani, triumphant in peace."

Vignette: Ani, standing with both hands raised in adoration. Behind him is his wife:

Ausar nebt per qematet en Amen Thuthu. Osiris, the lady of the house, priestess of Amen, Thuthu.

Text [CHAPTER XV.]: (1) A HYMN OF PRAISE. "O OSIRIS, lord of eternity, Un-nefer, Horus of the two horizons, whose forms are manifold, whose creations are without number, (2) Ptah-Seker-Tem in Annu, the lord of the tomb, and the creator of Memphis and of the gods, the guide of the underworld, whom [the gods] (3) glorify when thou settest in Nut. Isis embraceth thee in peace, and she driveth away the fiends from the mouth of (4) thy paths. Thou turnest thy face upon Amenta, thou makest the world to shine as with smu metal. The dead rise up to behold thee, they breathe the

(5) air and they look upon thy face when the disk shineth on its horizon; their hearts are at peace for that they behold thee, O thou who art eternity and everlastingness."

[Litany]: (1) "Homage to thee, [O lord of] starry deities in An, and of heavenly beings in Kher-aba; thou god Unti, who art more glorious than the gods who are hidden in Annu.

"(2) Homage to thee, O An in Antes (?), Horus, thou dweller in both horizons, with long strides thou stridest over heaven, O thou who dwellest in both horizons.

"(3) Homage to thee, O soul of everlastingness, thou Soul who dwellest in Tattu, Un-nefer, son of Nut; thou art lord of Akert.

"(4) Homage to thee in thy dominion over Tattu; the urerit crown is established upon thy head; thou art the One whose strength is in himself, and thou dwellest in peace in Tattu.

"(5) Homage to thee, O lord of the acacia tree, the Seker boat is set upon its sledge; thou turnest back the Fiend, the worker of evil, and thou causest the *utchat* to rest upon its seat.

"(6) Homage to thee, O thou who art mighty in thine hour, thou great and mighty god, dweller in An-rut-f, lord of eternity and creator of everlastingness; thou art the lord of Suten-henen.

"(7) Homage to thee, O thou who restest upon Right and Truth, thou art the lord of Abtu, and thy limbs are joined unto Ta-sertet; thou art he to whom fraud and guile are hateful.

"(8) Homage to thee, O thou who art within thy boat, thou bringest Hapi (*i.e.*, the Nile) forth from his source; the light shineth upon thy body, and thou art the dweller in Nekhen.

"(9) Homage to thee, O creator of the gods, thou King of the North and of the South; O Osiris, victorious, ruler of the world in thy gracious seasons; thou art the lord of the world.

"O grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit."

PLATE XX.

Vignette: Osiris and Isis in a sepulchral shrine.

Text [CHAPTER XV.]: (I) A HYMN OF PRAISE To RA WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE HEAVEN. They who are in (2) his train

rejoice, and lo! Osiris Ani in triumph saith "Hail, thou Disk, thou lord of rays, who risest (3) in the horizon day by day. Shine thou with thy beams of light upon the face of Osiris Ani, who is victorious: for he singeth hymns of praise unto thee at (4) dawn, and he maketh thee to set at eventide with words of adoration. May the soul of Osiris Ani, the triumphant one, come forth with (5) thee from heaven, may he go forth in the *matet* boat, may he come into port in the *sektet* boat, may he cleave his path among the (6) never resting stars in the heavens."

Osiris Ani, being at peace and in triumph, adoreth his lord, the lord of (7) eternity, saying: "Homage to thee, O Horus of the two horizons, who art

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Khepera the self-created; when thou risest on the horizon and (8) sheddest thy beams of light upon the lands of the North and the South thou art beautiful, yea beautiful, and all the gods rejoice when they behold thee, (9) the King of heaven. The goddess Nebt-Unnet is stablished upon thy head; her portions of the south and of the north are upon thy brow (10); she taketh her place before thee. The god Thoth is stablished in the bows of thy boat to destroy utterly all thy foes. (11) Those who dwell in the underworld come

forth to meet thee, bowing in homage as they come towards thee, and to behold [thy] beautiful (12) Image. And I have come before thee that I may be with thee to behold thy Disk every day. May I not be shut in the tomb, may I not be turned back (13), may the limbs of my body be made new again when I view thy beauties, even as do all thy favoured ones, {14) because I am one of those who worshipped thee whilst they lived upon earth. May I come in unto the land of eternity, may I come even (15) unto the everlasting land, for behold, O my lord, this hast thou ordained for me."

And lo, Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace, the triumphant one, saith (16) Homage to thee, O thou who risest in thy horizon as Ra, thou art stablished by a law which changeth not nor can it be altered. Thou passest over the sky, and every face watcheth thee (17) and thy course, for thou hast been hidden from their gaze. Thou dost show thyself at dawn and at eventide day by day. (18) The *Sektet* boat, wherein is thy majesty, goeth forth with might; thy beams shine upon [all] faces; [the number] of thy yellow rays cannot be known, nor can thy bright beams (19) be told. The lands of the gods, and the colours of the eastern lands of Punt, must be seen, ere that which is hidden (20) [in thee] may be measured [by man]. Alone and by thyself thou dost manifest thyself [when] thou comest into being above Nu. May Ani (21) advance, even as thou dost

advance; may he never cease [to go forward], even as thy majesty ceaseth not [to go forward], even though it be for a moment; for with strides dost thou (22) in one little moment pass over the spaces which would need hundreds of thousands and millions of years [for man to pass over; this] thou doest, and then dost thou sink down. Thou (23) puttest an end to the hours of the night, and thou dost number them, even thou; thou endest them in thine own appointed season, and the earth becometh light. (24) Thou settest thyself before thy handiwork[1] in the likeness of Ra;[1] thou risest in the horizon."

[1. There is a play on the words ### and ###.]

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Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, declareth his (25) praise of thee when thou shinest, and when thou risest at dawn he crieth in his joy at thy birth: (26) "Thou art crowned with the majesty of thy beauties; thou mouldest thy limbs as thou dost advance, and thou bringest them forth without birth-pangs in the form of Ra (27), as thou dost climb up into the upper air. Grant thou that I may come unto the heaven which is everlasting, and unto the mountain [where dwell] thy favoured ones. (28) May I be joined unto those shining beings, holy and perfect, who are in the

underworld; and may I come forth with them to behold thy beauties when thou shinest (29) at eventide and goest to thy mother Nut.

PLATE XXI.

"Thou dost place thy disk in the west, and my two hands are [raised] in adoration [of thee] when thou settest (30) as a living being. Behold, thou art the maker of eternity, and thou art adored [when] thou settest in the heavens. I have given my heart unto thee without wavering, (31) O thou who art mightier than the gods."

Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith: "A hymn of praise to thee, O thou who risest (32) like unto gold, and who dost flood the world with light on the day of thy birth. Thy mother giveth thee birth upon [her] hand, and thou dost give light unto the course of the Disk. (33) O thou mighty Light, who shinest in the heavens, thou dost strengthen the generations of men with the Nile-flood, and dost cause gladness in all lands, and in all (34) cities, and in all the temples. Thou art glorious by reason of thy splendours, and thou makest strong thy *ka* with *hu* and *tchefau* foods. O thou who art the mighty one of victories, (35) thou who art the Power of [all] Powers, who dost make strong thy throne against the powers of wickedness, who art glorious in majesty in the *sektet* boat, and who art exceeding (1-6) mighty in the *atet* boat, make thou

glorious Osiris Ani with victory in the netherworld; grant thou that in the underworld he may be void of (37) sin. I pray thee to put away [his] faults behind thee; grant that he may be one of thy venerable (38) servants who are with the shining ones; may he be joined unto the souls which are in Ta-sertet; and may he journey into the Sekhet-Aaru (39) by a prosperous and happy path, he the Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant.

"(40) Thou shalt come forth into heaven, thou shalt pass over the sky, thou shalt be joined unto the starry deities. (41) Praises shall be offered unto thee in thy boat, thou shalt be hymned in the diet boat, (42) thou shalt behold Ra within

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his shrine, thou shalt set together with his disk day by day, thou shalt see (43) the ant fish when it springeth into being in the waters of turquoise, and thou shalt see (44) the *abtu* fish in his hour. May it come to pass that the Evil One shall fall when he layeth a snare to destroy me, (45) and may the joints of his neck and of his back be cut in sunder."

"Ra [saileth] with a fair wind, and the *sektet* boat draweth on (46) and cometh into port. The mariners of Ra rejoice, and the

heart of Nebt-ankh (47) is glad, for the enemy of her lord hath fallen to the ground. Thou shalt behold Horus on the watch [in the Boat], and Thoth and Maat upon either side of him. (48) All the gods rejoice when they behold Ra coming in peace (49) to make the hearts of the shining ones to live. May Osiris Ani, triumphant, the scribe of the divine offerings of the lords of Thebes, be with them."

Vignette: Ra, hawk-headed, with the disk upon his head and the emblem of life upon his knees, seated in the solar bark;[1] before him stands Ani with both hands raised in adoration.

Text [CHAPTER CXXXIII.]: (1) TO BE SAID ON THE DAY OF THE MONTH.[2] (2) Osiris Ani, the scribe, triumphant in peace, triumphant, saith: "Ra riseth (2) in his horizon, and the company of his gods follow after the god when he appeareth from his secret place, when he showeth strength and bringeth himself forth (3) from the eastern horizon of heaven at the word of the goddess Nut. They rejoice at the journeyings of Ra, the Ancient One; the Great One (4) rolleth along in his course. Thy joints are knitted together,[3] O Ra, within thy shrine. Thou breathest the winds, thou drawest in the breezes, (5) thou makest thy jaw-bones to cat in thy dwelling on the day when thou dost scent right and truth. Thou

turnest aside the godlike followers (6) [who] sail after the sacred boat, in order that they may return again unto the mighty ones according to thy word. Thou numberest thy bones, thou gatherest together thy members; (7) thou turnest thy face towards the beautiful Amenta; thou comest thither renewed

[1. In the Nebseni papyrus the god is seated on a throne, and he holds the sceptre in his right hand; in the Turin papyrus (Lepsius, Bl. 54) the god is seated within a shrine.

2. This chapter is generally entitled "The Book of making perfect (or strong) the *khu* in the netherworld, in the presence of the great company of the gods.

3. Or, "thou art exalted."]

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day by day. Behold, thou Image of gold, who possessest the splendours (8) of the Disk of heaven, thou lord of terror; thou rollest along and art renewed day by day. Hail, there (9) is rejoicing in the heavenly horizon, and shouts of joy are It raised to the ropes which tow thee along. May the gods who dwell in (10) heaven ascribe praises unto Osiris Ani, when they behold him in triumph, as unto Ra. May Osiris, the scribe Ani, be a prince (11) who is known by the ureret crown; and may the meat offerings and the drink offerings of Osiris Ani, triumphant, be apportioned unto him; may he wax exceeding strong in his body; and may he be the (12) chief of those who are in the presence of Ra. May Osiris,

the scribe Ani, triumphant, be strong upon earth and in the world under the earth; and (13) O Osiris, scribe Ani, triumphant, mayest thou rise up strengthened like unto Ra day by day. Osiris Am, triumphant, shall not tarry, (14) nor shall he rest without motion in the earth for ever. Clearly, clearly shall he see with his two eyes, and with his two ears shall be hear what is right and true. (15) Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, cometh back, cometh back from Annu; Osiris Ani, triumphant, is as Ra when he rangeth the oars (16) among the followers of Nu.

PLATE XXII.

"Osiris Ani, triumphant, hath not revealed what he hath seen,(17) he hath not, he hath not told again what he hath heard in the house which is hidden. Hail, there are shouts of joy to Osiris Ani, triumphant, (18) for he is a god and the flesh of Ra, he is in the boat of Nu, and his ka is well pleased according to the will of the god. (19) Osiris Ani, triumphant, is in peace, he is triumphant like unto Horus, and he is mighty because he hath divers forms."

Vignette: Ra seated in a boat, sailing across the sky towards the starstudded heaven.

Rubric: These words shall be recited over a boat (20) seven cubits in length, and painted green for the godlike rulers. Then shalt thou make a heaven of stars (21) washed and purified with natron and incense. Behold, thou shalt make an image (22) of Ra upon a table of stone painted yellow (?), and it shall be placed in the fore-part of the boat. (23) Behold, thou shalt make an image of the dead man whom thou wilt make perfect in strength (24) in the boat; and thou shalt make it to travel in the divine boat of Ra, (25) and Ra himself will look upon it therein. Thou shalt show it to no man but thyself, (26) or to thy father or to

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thy son; let them watch with their faces, and he shall be seen in the underworld as a messenger of Ra.

Vignette: Ra, hawk-headed, with a disk upon his head, seated in a boat; before him is a large disk.

Text [CHAPTER CXXXIV.]: (I) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA ON THE DAY OF THE MONTH WHEREON HE SAILETH IN THE BOAT. [Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith]: "Homage to thee, O thou who art in thy boat! Thou risest, thou risest, (2) thou shinest with thy rays, and thou hast made mankind to rejoice for millions of years according to thy will.

Thou showest thy face unto the beings whom thou hast created, O Khepera, (3) in thy boat. Thou hast overthrown Apepi. O ye children of Seb, overthrow ye the foes of Osiris (4) Ani, triumphant, destroy ye the adversaries of righteousness from the boat of Ra. Horus shall cut off your (5) heads in heaven in the likeness of ducks; ye shall fall down upon the earth and become beasts, and into the water in the likeness of fishes. [Osiris, the scribe Ani,] destroyeth every hostile fiend, male (6) and female, whether he passeth through heaven, [or] appeareth (7) upon earth, or cometh forth upon the water, or passeth along before the starry deities; and Thoth strengtheneth them . . . . . . (8) coming forth from Anreti. Osiris, the scribe Ani, is silent, and becometh the second of Ra. Behold thou the god, the great slaughterer, (9) greatly to be feared, he washeth in your blood, he batheth in your gore; Osiris, (10) the scribe Ani, destroyeth them from the boat of his father Ra-Horus. The mother Isis giveth birth unto Osiris, the scribe (11) Ani, triumphant, whose heart liveth, and Nephthys nurseth him (12); even as they did for Horus, who drove back the fiends of Sut. They saw (13) the *urertu* crown stablished upon his head, and they fell down upon their faces. Behold, O ye shining ones, ye men (14) and gods, ye damned ones, when ye behold Osiris Ani, triumphant like unto Horus and adored (15) by reason of the

ureret crown, fall ye down upon your faces; for Osiris Ani is victorious (16) over his foes in the heavens above and [on the earth] beneath, in the presence of the godlike rulers (17) Of all the gods and goddesses."

Rubric: These words shall be recited over a great hawk which hath the white crown set upon his head. Then shall the names of Tmu, (18) Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, be written with green colour upon a (19) new table, anointed with unguents and placed in a boat together with a figure of the dead man (20). Then shall they put incense upon the fire, and set ducks to

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be roasted (21). This is a rite of Ra when his boat cometh; and it shall cause the dead man to go with Ra into every place whithersoever he saileth, and the foes of Ra shall be (22) slaughtered in very truth. The Chapter of the *sektet* boat shall be recited on the sixth day of the festival.

Vignette: The ladder by which the soul passes from the underworld to the body.[1]

PLATE XXIII. AND PLATE XXIV.

The whole of Plate XXIII. and part of Plate XXIV contain a repetition of the XVIIIth Chapter of the "Book of the Dead," which has also been given on Plates XIII. and XIV. The arrangement of the gods in the vignette is, however, slightly different.

PLATE XXIV. (2).

Vignette: Ani and his wife adoring three gods, who are seated on a pylon or door-shaped pedestal.

Text [CHAPTER CXXIV.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF GOING UNTO THE GODLIKE RULERS OF OSIRIS. Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, saith: "My soul hath builded for me a (2) dwelling-place in Tattu. I have waxed strong in the town Pe. I have ploughed [my] fields in all my forms, and my palm tree standeth therein like unto the god Amsu. I eat not that which I abominate, (3) I eat not that which I loathe; that which I abominate I abominate, and I feed not upon filth. (4) There are food offerings and meat for those who shall not be destroyed thereby. I raise not up myself on my two arms unto any abomination, I walk not thereupon (5) with my shoes, because my bread is [made] from white grain, and my ale from the red (6) barley of the Nile. The *sektet* boat and the *atet* boat bring them unto me, and I feed upon them (7) under the trees, whose beautiful branches I myself do know. (8) How glorious do I make the white

crown [when] I lift up the uræi! (9) Hail, guardian of the door, who givest peace unto the two lands, bring thou unto me those who make offerings! Grant that

[1. In the Appendix to Plates V. and V1. (see above, p. 265), is a reproduction from the papyrus of Neb-set at Paris, of a scene in which the soul of the deceased is represented as descending the ladder with food for the body in the tomb below.]

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I may (10) lift up the earth; that the shining ones may open their arms unto me; that the company of the gods may (11) speak with the words of the shining ones unto Osiris Ani; that the hearts of the gods may direct [him] (12); and that they may make him powerful in heaven among the gods who have taken unto themselves visible forms. (13) Yea, let every god and every goddess whom he passeth make Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant at the new year. He feedeth upon hearts (14) and consumeth them when he cometh forth from the east. He hath been judged by the forefather of Light. He is (15) a shining one arrayed in heaven among the mighty ones. The food of Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, is even (16) the cakes and ale which are made for their mouths. I go in through the Disk, I come out through the god Ahui. I speak with the followers (17) of the gods, I speak with the Disk, I speak with the shining ones, and the Disk granteth me to be victorious in

the (18) blackness of night within Meh-urt near unto his forehead. Behold, I am with Osiris, and I (19) proclaim that which he telleth forth among the mighty ones. He speaketh unto me the words of men, and I listen and (20) 1 tell again unto him the words of the gods. I, Osiris Ani, triumphant, come even as one who is equipped for the journey. Thou raisest up [right and truth] (2 1) for those who love them. I am a shining one clothed in power, mightier than any other shining one."

PLATE XXV.

Vignette: A swallow perched on a conical object painted red and green.

Text [CHAPTER LXXXVI.]: (I) HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF MAKING TRANSFORMATIONS. THE CHANGING INTO A SWALLOW. (2) Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "I am the swallow, [I am] the swallow, [I am] the scorpion, the daughter of Ra. Hail, ye gods, whose scent is sweet; hail, ye gods, whose scent is sweet! Hail, thou Flame, which comest forth from (4) the horizon! Hail, thou who art in the city. May the Guardian of the Bight lead me on. O stretch out up unto me (5) thine bands that I may be able to pass my days in the Island of Flame. I have fared forth with my warrant. I have come with the power thereof. Let the doors be opened unto me (6). How shall

I tell what I have seen therein? Horus was like unto the prince of the sacred bark, and the throne of his father was given unto him. Sut, the son of Nut, also hath gotten the fall which he (7) wrought for Horus. He who is in Sekhem passed judgment upon me. I stretched out my hands and my arms unto Osiris. I have passed on

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to judgment, (8) and I have come that I may speak; grant that I may pass on and deliver my message. I enter in, having been judged; I come out (9) at the door of Neb-er-tcher magnified and glorified. I am found pure at the Great place of passage [of souls]. I have put away my faults. (10) I have done away mine offences. I have cast out the sins which were a part of me. I, even I, am pure, (11) I, even I, am mighty. O ye doorkeepers, I have made my way [unto you]. I am like unto you. I have come forth by day. I have walked with my legs, and I have gotten the power of the footstep wherewith do walk the shining ones of light (12). I, even I, know the hidden ways to the doors of the Field of Aaru; and (13), though my body be buried, yet let me rise up; and may I come forth and overthrow all my foes upon earth."

Appendix[1]: *Rubric*. If this chapter be known [by the deceased], he shall come forth by day in Neter-khert, and he shall go in again after he hath come forth. if this chapter be not known, he shall not enter in after he hath come forth, nor shall he come forth by day.

Vignette: A golden hawk holding a flail, emblem of rule.

Text [CHAPTER LXXVII.]: (1) CHAPTER OF CHANGING INTO A GOLDEN HAWK. Saith Osiris Ani: "(2) May I, even I, arise in the *seshet* chamber, like unto a hawk of gold (3) coming forth from his egg. May I fly and may I hover as a hawk, with a back seven (4) cubits wide, and with wings made of emeralds of the South. May I come forth from the *sektet* boat (5), and may my heart be brought unto me from the mountain of the east. May I alight on the *atet* boat, and may those who are in (6) their companies be brought unto me, bowing down as they come. May I rise, may I gather myself together (7) as the beautiful golden hawk [which hath] the head of a *bennu* bird. May I enter into the presence of Ra daily to hear his words, and may I sit down among the (8) mighty gods of Nut. May a homestead be made ready for me, and may offerings of food and drink be put before me therein. May I eat therein; (9) may I become a shining one therein; may I be filled therein to, my heart's fullest desire;

may sacred wheat be given unto me to eat. May I, by myself, get power over the guardian of my head."

Vignette: A green hawk, holding a flail, and standing upon a pylon-shaped pedestal.

[1. See Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Bl. 32.]

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Text [CHAPTER LXXVIII.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF CHANGING INTO A SACRED HAWK. Saith Osiris Ani: (2) "Hail, thou mighty one, come unto Tattu. Make thou my paths, and let me pass round [to visit] my (3) thrones. Make me to renew myself and make me to wax strong. (4) Grant that I may be feared, and make me to be a terror. May the gods of the underworld fear me, and may they fight for me in their (5) habitations. Let not him that would do harm unto me draw nigh unto me. Let me walk through the house of darkness. May I (6), the feeble, clothe and cover myself; and may they (*i.e.*, the gods) not do the like unto me. Hail, ye gods who hear my speech! Hail, ye rulers who are among the followers of Osiris. Be ye therefore silent, O ye gods, [when] the god speaketh with me; he heareth what is right and (7) true. What I speak unto him, do thou also speak, O Osiris. Grant thou that I may go round my course according to the order which cometh forth from thy mouth concerning me. May

I see thy forms; (8) may I be able to understand thy will. Grant that I may come forth, that I may get power over my legs, and that I may be like unto Neb-er-tcher (9) upon his throne. May the gods of the underworld fear me, and may they fight for me in their habitations. Grant thou that I may pass on my way with the godlike ones who rise up (10). May I be set up upon my resting-place like unto the Lord of Life; may I be joined unto Isis, the divine Lady. May the gods (11) make me strong against him that would do harm unto me, and may no one come to see me fall helpless. May I pass over the paths (12), may I come into the furthermost parts of heaven. I entreat for speech with Seb, I make supplication unto Hu (13) and unto Neb-er-tcher that the gods of the underworld may fear me, and that they may fight for me in their habitations, when they see that thou hast (14) provided me with the fowl of the air and the fish of the sea.

"I am one of those shining ones who live in rays of light. (15) 1 have made my form like unto the form [of the god] who cometh out and manifesteth himself in Tattu; for I have become worthy of honour by reason of his honour, (16) and he hath spoken unto thee of the things which concern me. Surely he hath made the fear of me [to go forth], and hath created terror of me! The gods of the {*continued next plate*}

PLATE XXVI.

underworld fear me, and they (17) fight for me [in their habitations]. I, in very truth I am a shining one and a dweller in light, who hath been created and who hath come into being (18) from the body of the god. I am one of the shining

ones who dwell in light, whom (19) Tmu himself hath created, and who have.(come into being from the eyelashes of his eye. He doth create and glorify and make noble the faces of those who live with him. (20) Behold, the only One in Nu! They do homage unto him as he cometh forth from the horizon, and they strike fear of him into the gods (21) and into the shining ones who have come into being with him.

"I am the One among the worms which the eye of the Lord, the only One, hath created. And lo! (22) before Isis was, and when Horus was not yet, I had waxed strong, and flourished. I had grown old, and I had become greater (23) than they who were among the shining ones who had come into being with him, and I, even I, arose in the form of a sacred hawk (24), and Horus made me worthy in the form of his own soul, to take possession of all that belongeth

unto Osiris in the underworld. The double Lion-god, (25) the warder of the things that belong to the house of the *nemmes* crown which is in his hiding place, saith unto me: 'Get thee back to the heights of heaven, seeing that through Horus (26) thou hast become glorified in thy form; the *nemmes* crown is not for thee; thou hast speech even unto the ends (27) of heaven.' I, the guardian, take possession of the things which belong to Horus and Osiris in the underworld. Horus telleth aloud unto me that which (28) his father had said concerning me in years [gone by], on the day of the burial [of Osiris]. I have given unto thee the *nemmes* of the double Lion-god which I possess, (29) that thou mayest pass onward and mayest travel over the path of heaven, and that they who dwell on the confines of the horizon may see thee, and that the gods of the underworld may fear thee (30) and may fight for thee in their habitations. The god Auhet is of them. The gods, the lords of the boundaries of heaven, they who are the warders (31) of the shrine of the lord, the only One, have fallen before my words, have fallen down before [my] words. Hail! He that is exalted upon his tomb is on my side, and he hath bound upon my head the *nemmes* crown. (32) The double Lion-god hath decreed it, the god Auhet hath made a way for me. I, even I, am exalted, and the double Lion-god hath bound the *nemmes* crown on me, and (33)

my head covering hath been given unto me. He hath stablished my heart through his strength and through his great might, and I shall not (34) fall through Shu. I am Hetep, the lord of the two uræi, the being who is adored. I know the shining god, (35) and his breath is in my body. I shall not be driven back by the Bull which causeth men to tremble, but I shall come daily into the house of the double Lion-god, and I shall come forth therefrom into the house of Isis. I shall behold sacred things which are hidden, there shall be

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done unto me holy (37) hidden rites, I shall see what is there; my words shall make full the majesty of Shu, and they shall drive away evil hap. (38) I, even I, am Horus who dwell in splendours. I have gained power over his crown, I have gained power over his radiance (39), and I have travelled over the remotest parts of heaven. Horus is upon his throne, Horus is upon his seat. My (40) face is like unto that of a divine hawk. I am one who hath been armed by his lord. I have come forth from Tattu. I have seen Osiris, I have risen up on (41) either side of him. Nut [hath shrouded me]. The gods behold me, and I have beheld the gods. The eye of Horus hath consumed me, who dwell in darkness. The gods (42) stretch forth their arms unto me. I rise up, I get the mastery,

and I drive back evil which opposeth me. The gods open unto me the holy (43) way, they see my form, and they hear my words which I utter in their presence. O ye gods of the underworld, who set yourselves up against me, (44) and who resist the mighty ones, the stars which never set have led me on my way. I have passed along the holy paths of the*hemtet* chamber unto your lord, (45) the exceedingly mighty and terrible Soul. Horus hath commanded that ye lift up your faces to (46) look upon me. I have risen up in the likeness of a divine hawk, and Horus hath set me apart in the likeness of his own soul, to take possession of that which belongeth unto Osiris in the underworld. (47) I have passed along the way, I have travelled on and I have come even among those who live in their hiding places and who guard the house of Osiris. (48) 1 speak unto them of his power and I make them to know the terrible power of him that is provided with two horns [to fight] against Sut; and they (49) know who hath carried off the sacred food which the power (?) of Tmu had brought for him. The gods of the underworld have proclaimed (50) a happy coming for me. O Ye who live in your hiding places and who guard the house of Osiris, and who have magnified your names, (51) grant ye that I may come unto you. I bind together and I gather up your powers, and I order the strength of the paths of those who guard the (52) horizon of

the *hemtet* of heaven. I have stablished their habitations for Osiris, I have ordered his ways, I have done what hath been bidden. (53) I have come forth from Tattu, I have beheld Osiris, I have spoken unto him concerning the things of his son, the divine Prince whom he loveth. There is a wound in the heart of Set, (54) and I have seen him who is without

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life. O, I have made them to know the plans of the gods which Horus hath devised (55) at the bidding of his father Osiris. Hail, lord, thou most terrible

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and mighty soul! Let me come, even me, (56) let me lift myself up! I have opened and passed through the underworld. I have opened the paths of the warders (57) of heaven and of the warders of the earth. I have not been driven back by them; and I have lifted up thy face, O lord of eternity."

Appendix: The following is the end of the LXXVIIIth chapter according to the Paris papyrus quoted by Naville (*Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 89, ll. 43-48):--

"Thou art exalted upon thy throne, O Osiris. Thou hearest joyful things, O Osiris. Thy, strength is vigorous, O Osiris. Thy head is bound to thy body, O Osiris. Thy brow is made firm, O Osiris. Thy heart is joyful. O be thou pleased to establish gladness for thy servants. Thou art stablished as a bull of Amenta. Thy son Horus is crowned king upon thy throne; all life is with him. Unto thy son are given millions of years, and the fear of him shall endure for untold ages. The company of the gods shall fear him. Unto thy son is given . . . . of the company of the gods; he changeth not his word. Horus is the food and the altar. I go to unite myself unto [my] father; and deliverance cometh from [my] father, from [my] brother, and from the friend of Horus. Horus is in the following of his father. He dwelleth amid decay. He ruleth Khem. To thy son have the gods given the crown of millions of years, and for millions of years it maketh him to live in the eye [of Horus], the single eye of the god [which is called] Nebt-er-tcher, the queen of the gods."

Vignette: The deceased kneeling, with both hands raised in adoration, before three gods.

Text [CHAPTER LXXIX.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF BEING AMONG THE COMPANY OF THE GODS AND OF BEING CHANGED INTO THE (2) PRINCE OF THE GODLIKE

RULERS. [The deceased] saith: "Homage to thee, O Tmu, (3) lord of heaven, thou creator of things which are and which come forth from the earth; who makest to come into being that which is sown, the lord of things which shall be, the begetter of the gods, the great god (4) who made himself, the lord of life who maketh mankind to flourish. Homage to you, O ye lords of creation, ye pure being whose abodes (5) are hidden. Homage to you, O ye lords of eternity, whose forms are hidden, and whose dwelling-places are unknown. (6) Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in the abode (?) of the flooded lands. Homage to you, O ye gods who live in the underworld. Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in heaven. (7) Grant ye that I may come [unto you], for I know you. I am pure, I am holy, I am mighty, I have a soul, (8) 1 have become powerful, I am glorious; I have brought unto you perfume and incense, and natron. Blot out from your hearts (9) whatsoever ye have in them against me. I have come, having done away all the evil which dwelleth in your hearts against me, I have made an end of all the sin which I committed (10) against you; I have brought unto you that which is good, I have made to come unto you that which is right and true. I, even I, know (11) you, I know your names, I know your forms which are not known, which come into being (12) with you. I have come unto you.

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I have risen among men like unto the god, living among the (13) gods. I am strong before you like unto the god who is exalted upon his resting-place; when he cometh the gods rejoice, and goddesses and mortal women (14) are glad when they behold him. I have come unto you. I have risen (15) upon the throne of Ra, I sit upon my seat in the horizon. I receive offerings upon my altar, (16) 1 drink drink-offerings at eventide as one made noble by the lord of mortals. I am exalted (17) even as the holy god, the lord of the great House. The gods rejoice when they see him in his (18) beautiful manifestation on the body of Nut, who giveth birth unto him daily."

Vignette: The serpent Seta, with human legs.

Text [CHAPTER LXXXVI L]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF CHANGING INTO SETA. Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith: "I am the serpent Seta, whose years are many. I lie down and I am born day by day. I am (3) the serpent Seta, which dwelleth in the limits of the earth. I lie down, I am born, (4) I renew myself, I grow young day by day."

Vignette: A crocodile upon a pylon or doorway.

Text [CHAPTER LXXXVIII.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF CHANGING INTO A CROCODILE. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: (2) "I am the crocodile which dwelleth in terror, I am the sacred crocodile and I cause destruction. (3) I am the great fish in Kamui. I am the lord to whom homage (4) is paid in Sekhem; and Osiris Ani is the lord to whom homage is paid in Sekhem."

Vignette: The god Ptah in a shrine, before which is a table of offerings.

Text [CHAPTER LXXXII.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF CHANGING INTO PTAH. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "I eat bread, (2) I drink ale, I put on apparel, (3) I fly like a hawk, I cackle like a goose, and I alight upon the path (4) hard by the hill of the dead on the festival of the great Being. That which is abominable, that which is abominable, have I not eaten; and that which (5) is foul have I not swallowed. That which my *ka* doth abominate hath not entered into my body. I have lived according to the (6) knowledge of the glorious gods. I live and I get strength from their bread, I get strength when I eat it beneath the (7) shade of the tree of Hathor, my lady. I make an offering, and I make bread in Tattu, and oblations in (8) Annu. I array myself in the robe of the goddess Matait, and I rise up and I sit me down wheresoever my heart

desireth (9). My head is like unto the head of Ra; when my limbs are gathered

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together, I am like unto Tmu. The four regions of Ra are the limits of the earth. I come forth; my tongue (10) is like unto the tongue of Ptah, my throat is even as that of Hathor, and I tell forth the words of my father Tmu with my lips. He it is who constrained (11) the handmaid, the wife of Seb; and unto him are bowed [all] heads, and there is fear of him. Hymns of praise are sung in honour of my mighty deeds (12), and I am accounted the heir of Seb, the lord of the earth, the protector. The god Seb giveth cool water, he maketh his dawnings to be mine. They who dwell in (13) Annu bow down their heads before me, for I am their bull. I grow strong from moment to moment; my loins are made strong for millions of years."

Vignette: A Ram.

Text [CHAPTER LXXXV.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF CHANGING INTO THE SOUL OF Tmu. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: (2) "I have not entered into the house of destruction; I have not been brought to naught, I have not known decay. I am (3) Ra who come forth from Nu, the divine

Soul, the creator of his own limbs. Sin is an abomination unto me, (4) and I look not thereon; I cry not out against right and truth, but I have my being (5) therein. I am the god Hu, and I never die (6) in my name of 'Soul.' I have brought myself into being together with Nu in my name of (7) 'Khepera.' In their forms have I come into being in the likeness of Ra. I am the lord of light."

Appendix: In other ancient papyri the LXXXVth Chapter of the Book of the Dead ends as follows (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 97):--

"What I hate shall be buried (5). Let me not enter into the secret place of the god Tuaa. I ascribe glory unto Osiris, and I pacify the heart of those who dwell in the god of creation, who love me, who spread (6) abroad fear of me, and who strike terror of me into those who dwell in their own places. Behold me, for I am exalted upon my resting-place, Nu, (7) upon the place which is adjudged unto me. I am Nu, and those who work evil shall not overthrow me. I am the eldest and the first-born son of matter; my (8) soul is the gods, who are the eternal souls. I am the creator of darkness who maketh his dwelling-place in the limits of the regions of heaven. I come, and my soul advanceth (9) over the way of the

Ancient Ones. I cause darkness in the limits of the sky, and at my will I come unto the boundaries thereof I walk upon my feet, I am strong (10) to pass over the sky, and I fetter with bonds the darkness and the worm that hideth therein. I make my steps to advance unto the lord of the two hands (?) My soul (11) and the soul of my body are the uræi, and I live for

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ever, the lord of years, and the prince of eternity. I am exalted as lord of the earth, I am exalted (?). I grow young in (12) the cities, I grow youthful in my homestead, my name is 'My name decayeth not.' I am the Soul, the creator of Nu, who maketh his dwelling-place in (13) Neter-khert. My nest is not seen, my egg is not broken. I am the lord of millions of years. I make my nest in the limits of heaven. I descend unto the earth of Seb (14). I do away with my faults. I behold my father, the lord of Mash; and his body breatheth in Annu. I am provided with what I need 05) by Khnemu and Khui in the place of burial in Amenta . . . .

Vignette: A *bennu* bird

Text [CHAPTER LXXXIII.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF CHANGING INTO A *bennu*.

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace: "I came into being from unformed matter, (2) I created myself in the image of the god Khepera, and I grew in the form of plants. I am hidden in the likeness of the Tortoise. I am formed out of the atoms of all the gods. (3) I am the yesterday of the four [quarters of the world], and I am the seven uræi which came into existence in the East, the mighty one who illumineth the nations (4) by his body. He is god in the likeness of Set; and Thoth dwelleth in the midst of them by (5) judgment of the dweller in Sekhem and of the spirits of Annu. I sail (6) among them, and I come; I am crowned, I am become a shining one, (7) I am mighty, I am become holy among the gods. I am the god Khonsu who driveth back all that opposeth him."

Appendix: The following rubric to this chapter is found in a papyrus at Paris; see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Bl. 185:--

If this chapter be known, the purified one shall come forth by day after his burial, and he shall change his forms at his heart's desire. He shall dwell among the servants of Un-nefer, and he shall be satisfied with the food of Osiris, and with the meals of the tomb. He shall behold the disk of the Sun, and shall travel over the earth with Ra. He shall be triumphant before Osiris, and there

shall no evil thing get dominion over him for ever and for all eternity and for ever.

PLATE XXVIII.

Vignette: A heron.

Text [CHAPTER LXXXIV.]: (I) THE CHAPTER OF CHANGING INTO A HERON.

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani: (2) "I have gotten dominion over the beasts which are brought for sacrifice, with the knife held at their heads and their hair, (3) for

those who dwell in their emerald [fields], the ancient and the shining ones who make ready (4) the hour of Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace. He maketh slaughter upon earth, and I make slaughter upon earth. I am strong, and I have passed along the (5) lofty path [which leadeth] unto heaven. I have made myself pure, with long strides I have gone unto my city, holding on my way to Sepu (?). (6) I have stablished [the one who is] in Unnu. I have set the gods upon their places, and I have made glorious the temples of those who live in their shrines. (7) I know the goddess Nut, I know the god Tatunen, I know Teshert, I have brought with me

their horns. I know (8) Heka, I have heard his words, I am the red calf which is limned with the pen. When they hear [my words], the gods say: (9) 'Let us bow down our faces, and let him come unto us; the light shineth beyond you.' My hour is within my body. (10) I have not spoken [evil] in the place of right and truth, and each day I advance in right and truth. I am shrouded in darkness when I sail up to celebrate the festival of the (11) dead one, and to embalm the Aged one, the guardian of the earth--I the Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant! I have not entered into (12) the hiding places of the starry deities. I have ascribed glory unto Osiris. I have pacified the heart of the gods who follow after him. I have not felt fear (13) Of those who cause terror, even those who dwell in their own lands. Behold, I am exalted (14) upon [my] resting place upon my throne. I am Nu, and I shall never be overthrown by the Evil-doer. I am the god Shu (15) who sprang from unformed matter. My soul is god; my soul is eternity. I am the creator of darkness, and I (16) appoint unto it a resting place in the uttermost parts of heaven. I am the prince of eternity, I am the exalted one [in] Nebu. I grow young in [my] city, (17) I grow young in my homestead. My name is 'Never-failing.' My name is 'Soul, Creator of Nu, who maketh (18) his abode in the underworld.' My nest is not seen, and I have not broken my egg. I am lord of millions

of years- I have made my nest (19) in the uttermost parts of heaven. I have come down unto the earth of Seb. I have done away with my faults. I have seen my father (20) as the lord of Shautat. As concerning Osiris Ani, may his body dwell in Annu; may it be manifested unto those who are with the Shining One in the place of burial in Amenta. . . . . ."

Vignette: A human head springing from a lotus in a pool of water.

Text [CHAPTER LXXXIA.]: (1) [THE CHAPTER OF] CHANGING INTO A LOTUS. Saith Osiris Ani: "I am the (2) pure lotus which cometh forth from the

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god of light, the guardian of the nostrils of Ra, the guardian (3) of the nose of Hathor. I advance and I hasten (4) after him who is Horus. I am, the pure one who cometh forth from the field."

Vignette: A god with a disk upon his head.

Text [CHAPTER LXXX.]: (I) [Tim, CHAPTER OF] CHANGING INTO THE GOD WHO GIVETH LIGHT IN THE DARKNESS. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant: I am (2) the girdle of the robe of the god Nu, which shineth and sheddeth light, which abideth in his presence and

sendeth forth light into the darkness, which knitteth together the two fighters (3) who live in my body through the mighty spell of the words of my mouth, which raiseth up him that hath fallen--for (4) he who was with him in the valley of Abtu hath fallen--and I rest. I have remembered him. (5) I have carried away the god Hu from my city wherein I found him, (6) and I have led away the darkness captive by my might. I have upheld the Eye [of the Sun] when its power waned (7) at the coming of the festival of the, fifteenth day, and I have weighed Sut in the heavenly mansions beside the Aged one who is with him. I have endowed (8) Thoth in the House of the Moon-god with all that is needful for the coming of the festival of the fifteenth day. I have carried off the *ureret* crown; right and truth are in my body. (9) The months are of emerald and crystal. My homestead is among the sapphire furrows. (10) I am the lady who sheddeth light in darkness. I have come to give forth light in darkness, and lo! it is lightened and made bright. I have illumined the blackness (11) and I have overthrown the destroyers. I have made obeisance unto those who are in darkness, and I have raised up (12) those who wept and who had bidden their faces and had sunk down. Then did they look upon me. I am the Lady, and I will not let you hear concerning me."

PLATES XXIX. AND XXX.

Vignette (PLATE XXIX.): Ani and his wife standing with hands raised in adoration before the god Thoth, who has *ankh*, "life," upon his knees, and is seated on a pylon-shaped throne.

Text [CHAPTER CLXXV.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF NOT DYING A SECOND TIME. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "(2) Hail, Thoth! What is it that hath happened unto the holy children of Nut? (3) They have done battle, they have upheld

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strife, they have done evil, (4) they have created the fiends, they have made slaughter, they have caused (5) trouble; in truth, in all their doings the mighty have worked against the weak. (6) Grant, O might of Thoth, that that which the god Tmu hath decreed [may be done]! And thou regardest not evil, nor art thou (7) provoked to anger when they bring their years to confusion and throng in and push to disturb their months; for in all that they have done (8) unto thee they have worked iniquity in secret. I am thy writing palette, O Thoth, and I have brought unto thee thine ink jar. I am not (9) of those who work iniquity in their secret places; let not evil happen unto me."

Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani: (10) "Hail, Tmu! What manner [of land] is this into which I have come? It hath not water, it hath not air; it is deep unfathomable, (11) it is black as the blackest night, and men wander helplessly therein. In it a man may not live in quietness of heart; nor may the longings of love be satisfied therein. (12) But let the state of the shining ones be given unto me for water and for air and for the satisfying of the longings of love, and let quietness of heart be given unto me for bread (13) and for ale. The god Tmu hath decreed that I shall see his face, and that I shall not suffer from the things which pain him. May the gods hand on (14) their thrones for millions of years. Thy throne hath descended unto thy son Horus. The god Tmu hath decreed that his course shall be among the holy princes. (15) In truth, he shall rule over thy throne, and he shall be heir of the throne of the dweller in the Lake of Fire. It hath been decreed that in me he shall see his likeness, and that (16) my face shall look upon the lord Tmu. How long then have I to live? It is decreed that thou shalt live for millions of millions of years, a life of millions of years. (17) May it be granted that I pass on unto the holy princes, for I am doing away with all that I did when this earth came into being from Nu (18), and when it sprang from the watery abyss even as it was in the days of old. I am Fate (?)

and Osiris, and I have changed my form into the likeness of divers serpents (19). Man knoweth not, and the gods cannot see, the two-fold beauty which I have made for Osiris, who is greater than all the gods. I have granted that he [shall rule] in the mount of the dead (20). Verily his son Horus is seated upon the throne of the dweller in the double Lake of Fire, as his heir. I have set his throne in (21) the boat of millions of years. Horus is established upon his throne, amid the friends [of Osiris] and all that belonged unto him. Verily the soul of Sut, which (22) is greater than all the gods, hath departed to [Amenta]. May it be granted that I bind his soul in the divine boat (23) at my will . . . . O my Osiris, thou hast done for me that which thy father

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Ra did for thee. May I abide upon the earth lastingly; (24) may I keep possession of my throne; may my heir be strong; may my tomb and my friends who are upon earth flourish; (25) may my enemies be given over to destruction and to the shackles of the goddess Serq! I am thy son, and Ra is my father (26). For me likewise hast thou made life, strength and health. Horus is established upon

his throne. Grant that the days of my life may come unto worship and honour."

Appendix: From the fragmentary copy of this chapter which M. Naville has published in his *Todtenbuch*, Bd. L, Bll. 198, 199, it is clear that the text given in the papyrus of Ani forms only about one-half of it, and that its contents refer to the glorious state of the deceased, who lives again in the form of Horus. He enters among the revered dead; shouts of joy ascend in Suten-henen, and gladness reigns in Naarutef he hath inherited the throne of Osiris, and ruleth the whole earth, and the company of the gods are content thereat; the god Sut feareth him; all sorts and conditions of men both dead and living come before him, and bow down in homage when they behold him; the god hath made all to fear him; Sut cometh unto him with head bent low to the earth; the deceased breaketh and turneth up the earth in blood in Suten-henen; (compare Chap. XVIII.,); his name shall endure for millions of millions of years; his name shall abide in Suten-henen, and he shall wear the mighty *atef* crown upon his head for millions, and hundreds of thousands, and tens of thousands, and thousands, and hundreds, and tens of years; bread, ale, oxen, wild fowl, all good and pure things and fresh water from the river shall in abundance be offered unto him, *etc.* From the concluding lines we

find that the chapter was to be recited over a figure of the god Horus made of lapis-lazuli, which was to be placed near the neck of the deceased, and which was supposed to give him power upon earth with men, gods, and the shining spirits; the effect upon him would, moreover, be exceedingly beneficial if it were recited in the underworld.

Vignette I. (PLATE XXX.): The god Osiris, bearded and wearing the id white crown, stands in a shrine the roof of which is surmounted by a hawk's head and uræi; at the back of his neck hangs the *menat* (see above p. 245), and in his hands he holds the crook, sceptre, and flail, emblems of royalty, power, and dominion. Behind him stands the goddess Isis, who rests her right hand upon his right shoulder; in her left hand she holds the sign of life. Before Osiris, upon a lotus flower, stand the four children of Horus, the gods of the cardinal points, Mestha, Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf.

Vignette II. (PLATE XXIX.): Ani and his wife Thuthu standing, with hands raised in adoration to Osiris, before a table of offerings.

Text [CHAPTER CXXV.]: (1) THE CHAPTER OF ENTERING INTO THE HALL OF DOUBLE RIGHT AND TRUTH: A HYMN OF PRAISE TO OSIRIS, THE DWELLER IN AMENTET. Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, saith: (2) "I have come and I have drawn nigh to see thy beauties; my two hands are raised in adoration of thy name Right and Truth. I have drawn nigh unto the place where the acacia tree groweth not, (3) where the tree thick with leaves existeth not, and where the ground yieldeth neither herb nor grass. And I have entered in unto the place of secret and hidden things, (4) 1 have held converse with the god Sut . . . . Osiris, the scribe Ani, hath entered into the House of Osiris, and he hath seen the hidden (5) and secret things which are therein. The holy rulers of the pylons are in the form of shining ones. (6) Anubis spake unto him with the speech of man when he came from Ta-mera, saying, 'He knoweth our paths and our cities, I have been pacified, (7) and the smell of him is to me even as the smell of one of you.'"

Ani saith unto him: "I am Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace, triumphant! (8) I have drawn nigh to behold the great gods, and I feed upon the meals of sacrifice whereon their *kas* feed. I have been to the boundaries [of the

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lands] (9) of the Ram, the lord of Tattu, and he hath granted that I may come forth as a bennu bird and that I may have the power of speech. I have passed through the river-flood. I have made (10) offerings with incense. I have made my way by the side of the thick-leaved tree of the children (?). I have been in Abtu in the House of Satet. (11) I have flooded and I have sunk the boat of my enemies. I have sailed forth upon the Lake in the *neshem* boat. I have seen the noble (12) ones of Kam-ur. I have been in Tattu, and I have constrained myself to silence. I have set the divine Form upon his two feet. (13) I have been with the god Pa-tep-tu-f, and I have seen the dweller in the Holy Temple. I have entered into the House (14) Of Osiris, and I have arrayed myself in the apparel of him who is therein. I have entered into Re-stau, and I have beheld the hidden things (15) which are therein. I have been swathed, but I found for myself a thoroughfare. I have entered into An-aarut-f, and I have clothed my body with the apparel (16) which is therein. The *antu* unguent of women hath been given unto me . . . . Verily, Sut spake unto me (17) the things which concern himself, and I said, I Let the thought of the trial of the balance by thee be even within our hearts.'"

The majesty of the god Anubis saith: (18) "Dost thou know the name of this door to declare it unto me?" Osiris, the scribe Ani,

triumphant, (19) triumphant in peace, saith: "'Driven away of Shu' is the name of this (20) door." Saith the majesty of the god Anubis: (21) "Dost thou know the name of the upper (22) leaf and of the lower leaf thereof?" [Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace saith]:"' Lord of right and truth, [standing] (23) upon his 'two feet' is the name of the upper (24) leaf, and 'Lord of might and power, dispenser of (25) cattle' [is the name of the lower leaf]." [The majesty of the god Anubis saith]: "Pass thou, for thou knowest [the names] (26), O Osiris, the scribe, teller (27) of the divine offerings of all the gods of Thebes, Ani, triumphant, lord to be revered."

Appendix: The usual introduction to the CXXVth Chapter reads (see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 133) as follows:--

I. (1) THE FOLLOWING SHALL BE SAID BY A MAN WHEN HE COMETH UNTO THE HALL OF DOUBLE RIGHT AND TRUTH, WHEREIN HE IS PURGED (2) OF ALL THE SINS WHICH HE HATH DONE, AND WHEREIN HE SEETH THE FACES OF ALL THE GODS: Hail to thee, great god, the lord of Right and Truth! I have come unto thee, O my lord, (3) and I have drawn nigh that I may look upon thy beauties. I know thee, and I know the names of the forty-two gods who dwell with thee in this (4) Hall of Double Right and Truth, and that they may set the sinners in

the gives, who live and who feed upon their blood on the day (5) when the natures of men are accounted before Un-neferu.

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In very truth 'Rekhti-merti-f-ent-Maat' is thy name. Verily (6) I have come unto thee, and I bring before thee Right and Truth. For thy sake I have rejected wickedness. I have done no hurt unto man, nor have I wrought harm unto beasts. I have committed no crime (7) in the place of Right and Truth. I have had no knowledge of evil; nor have I acted (8) wickedly. Each day have I laboured more than was required of me. (9) My name hath not come forth to the boat of the Prince. I have not despised God. (10) I have not caused misery; nor have I worked affliction. I have done not (11) that which God doth abominate. I have caused no wrong to be done to the servant by his master. I have (12) caused none to feel pain. I have made [no man] to weep. (13) I have not committed murder; nor have I ever bidden any man "to slay on my behalf. I have not wronged the people. I have not filched that which hath been offered in (14) the temples; nor have I purloined the cakes of the gods. I have not carried away the (15) offerings made unto the blessed dead. I have not committed fornication, nor have I defiled my body. (16) I have not added unto nor have I minished the offerings which

are due. I have not stolen from the orchards; nor have I trampled down the fields. I have not added to the weight of the balance; (17) nor have I made light the weight in the scales. I have not snatched the milk from the mouth of the babe. I have not (18) driven the cattle from their pastures. I have not snared the water-fowl of the gods. I have not caught fishes (19) with bait of their own bodies. I have not turned back water at its springtide. I have not broken the channel of running water. I have not quenched the flame (20) in its fulness. I have not disregarded the seasons for the offerings which are appointed; I have not turned away the cattle set apart for sacrifice. I have not thwarted the processions of the god. (21) 1 am pure. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure with the purity of the great Bennu bird which is in Suten-henen; for, lo! I am the nostrils of (22) the lord of the winds who maketh all men to live on the day when the eye of the sun becometh full in Annu, in the second month of the season of coming forth until the end thereof, (23) in the presence of the lord of this earth. I behold the eye of the sun wax full in Annu. May no evil happen unto me in this land in the (24) Hall of Double Right and Truth, because I know, even I, the names of the gods who live therein and who are the followers of the great god."

PLATES XXXI. AND XXXII.

Vignettes: The Hall of Double Right and Truth, wherein Ani has to address severally the forty-two gods, who are seated in a row in the middle of the, hall. At each end is a door that on the right is called "Neb-Maat-heri-tep-retui-f" and that on the left "Neb-pehti-thesu-menment." On the centre of the roof, which is crowned with

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a series of uræi and feathers emblematic of Maat, is a seated deity with hands extended, the right over the eye of Horus and the left over a pool (see the Vignette of Plate VIII. above, p. 278).[1] On the right, at the end of the hall (Plate XXXII.), are four small vignettes, in which are depicted: (1) Two seated figures of the goddess Maat, with emblematic of Right and Truth, on the head, and sceptres and emblems of life in the right and left hands. (2) Osiris, seated, wearing the *atef* crown, and holding in his hands the crook and flail. Before him, by the side of an altar of offerings, stands Ani, with both hands raised in adoration. (3) A balance with the heart, symbolizing the conscience of Ani, in one scale, and emblematic of Right and Truth, in the other. Beside the balance is the tri-formed monster Amemit. (4) Thoth,

ibis-headed, seated on a pylon-shaped pedestal, painting a large feather of Maat.

Text: [THE NEGATIVE CONFESSION.]

(1) Ani saith: "Hail, thou whose strides are long, who comest forth from Annu, I have not done iniquity."

(2) "Hail, thou who art embraced by flame, who comest forth from Kheraba, I have not robbed with violence."

(3) "Hail, Fentiu, who comest forth from Khemennu, I have not stolen."

(4) "Hail, Devourer of the Shade, who comest forth from Qernet, I have done no murder; I have done no harm."

(5) "Hail, Nehau, who comest forth from Re-stau, I have not defrauded offerings."

(6) "Hail, god in the form of two lions, who comest forth from heaven, I have not minished oblations."

(7) "Hail, thou whose eyes are of fire, who comest forth from Saut, I have not plundered the god."

(8) "Hail, thou Flame, which comest and goest, I have spoken no lies."

(9) "Hail, Crusher of bones, who comest forth from Suten-henen, I have not snatched away food."

(10) "Hail, thou who shootest forth the Flame, who comest forth from Het-Ptah-ka, I have not caused pain."

[1. In the Nebseni Papyrus a dog-headed ape and a balance are represented on each side of the seated deity, and at each end of the roof; and each uræus wears a disk and horns.]

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(11) "Hall, Qerer, who comest forth from Amentet, I have not committed fornication."

(12) "Hail, thou whose face is turned back, who comest forth from thy hiding place, I have not caused shedding of tears."

(13) "Hail, Bast, who comest forth from the secret place, I have not dealt deceitfully."

(14) "Hail, thou whose legs are of fire, who comest forth out of the darkness, I have not transgressed."

(15) "Hail, Devourer of Blood, who comest forth from the block of slaughter, I have not acted guilefully."

(16) "Hail, Devourer of the inward parts, who comest forth from Mabet, I have not laid waste the ploughed land."

(17) "Hail, Lord of Right and Truth, who comest forth from the city of Right and Truth, I have not been an eavesdropper."

(18) "Hail, thou who dost stride backwards, who comest forth from the city of Bast, I have not set my lips in motion [against any man]."

(19) "Hail, Sertiu, who comest forth from Annu, I have not been angry and wrathful except for a just cause."

(20) "Hail, thou. being of two-fold wickedness, who comest forth from Ati (?) I have not defiled the wife of any man."

(21) "Hail, thou two-headed serpent, who comest forth from the torture-chamber, I have not defiled the wife of any man."

(22) "Hail, thou who dost regard what is brought unto thee, who comest forth from Pa-Amsu, I have not polluted myself."

(23) "Hail, thou Chief of the mighty, who comest forth from Amentet, I have not caused terror."

(24) "Hail, thou Destroyer, who comest forth from Kesiu, I have not transgressed."

(25) "Hail, thou who orderest speech, who comest forth from Urit, I have not burned with rage."

(26) "Hail, thou Babe, who comest forth from Uab, I have not stopped my ears against the words of Right and Truth."

(27) "Hail, Kenemti, who comest forth from Kenemet, I have not worked grief"

(28) "Hail, thou who bringest thy offering, I have not acted with insolence."

(29) "Hail, thou who orderest speech, who comest forth from Unaset, I have not stirred up strife."

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(30) "Hail, Lord of faces, who comest forth from Netchfet, I have not judged hastily."

(31) "Hail, Sekheriu, who comest forth from Utten, I have not been an eavesdropper."

(32) "Hail, Lord of the two horns, who comest forth from Saïs, I have not multiplied words exceedingly."

(33) "Hail, Nefer-Tmu, who comest forth from Het-Ptah-ka, I have done neither harm nor ill."

PLATE XXXII.

(34) "Hail, Tmu in thine hour, who comest forth from Tattu, I have never cursed the king."

(35) "Hail, thou who workest with thy will, who comest forth from Tebu, I have never fouled the water."

(36) "Hail, thou bearer of the sistrum, who comest forth from Nu, I have not spoken scornfully."

(37) "Hail, thou who makest mankind to flourish, who comest forth from Saïs, I have never cursed God."

(38) "Flail, Neheb-ka, who comest forth from thy hiding place, I have not stolen."

(39) "Hail, Neheb-nefert, who comest forth from thy hiding place, I have not defrauded the offerings of the gods."

(40) "Hail, thou who dost set in order the head, who comest forth from thy shrine, I have not plundered the offerings to the blessed dead."

(40 "Hail, thou who bringest thy arm, who comest forth from the city of Maati, I have not filched the food of the infant, neither have I sinned against the god of my native town."

(42) "Hail, thou whose teeth are white, why comest forth from Ta-she, I have not slaughtered with evil intent the cattle of the god."

Appendix: The following version of the Negative Confession is given in the Nebseni Papyrus (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bll. 134, 135), showing important variations in the text and in the order in which the gods are addressed.

"(1) Hail, thou whose strides are long, who comest forth from Annu, I have not done iniquity. (2) Hail, thou who art embraced by flame, who comest forth from Kher-aba, I have not robbed with violence. (3) Hail Fenti who comest forth from

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Khemennu, I have not made any to suffer pain. (4) Hail, Devourer of Shades, who comest forth from [thy] retreat, I have not robbed. (5) Hail, thou whose limbs are terrible to look upon, who comest forth from Restau, I have done no murder. (6) Hail, thou god who art in the form of two lions, who comest forth from heaven, I have not defrauded offerings. (7) Hail, thou god whose two eyes are of fire, who comest forth from Sekhem, I have not done harm.[1] (8) Hail, Fiery god, who comest and goest,[2] I have not robbed God. (9) Hail, Crusher of Bones, who comest forth from Suten-henen, I have told no lies. (10) Hail, thou who shootest thyself forth from the flame, who comest forth from Het-Ptah-ka, I have not snatched away food. (11) Hail, Qerti, who comest forth from Amentet, I have not worked affliction. (12) Hail, thou whose teeth are white, who comest forth from Ta-she, I have not transgressed. (13) Hail, Devourer of blood, who comest forth from the block, I have not slaughtered the cattle which are set apart for the gods. (14) Hail, Devourer of the inward parts, who comest forth from Mabit, I have done no evil. (15) Hail, lord of Right and Truth, who comest forth from Maati, I have not laid waste the ploughed lands. (16) Hail, Strider, who comest forth from Bast, I have not been an eavesdropper. (17) Hail, Aaati, who comest forth from Annu, I have not set my lips in motion against any man. (18) Hail, thou

god of two-fold evil, who comest forth from Ati, I have not been angry without a cause. (19) Hail, thou god who art in the likeness of a serpent, who comest forth from the torture-chamber, I have not committed adultery with the wife of any man. (20) Hail, thou who regardest that which is brought before thee, who comest forth from Pa-Amsu, I have not polluted myself (21) Hail, thou mighty Chief, who comest forth from the city of acacia trees, I have not caused terror. (22) Hail, Khemi, who comest forth from Kesui, I have not done that which is abominable. (23) Hail, thou who orderest speech, who comest forth from Urib, I have never uttered fiery words. (24) Hail, thou Babe, who comest forth from the Heq-at nome, I have not stopped my ears against the words of Right and Truth. (25) Hail, thou who orderest speech, who comest forth from Unes, I have not stirred up strife. (26) Hail, Bast, who comest forth from the secret city, I have not caused [any] to weep. (27) Hail, thou whose face is turned behind thee, I have not lusted, nor have I committed fornication, nor have I done any other abominable thing. (28) Hail, Blazing feet, who comest forth from the darkness, I have not avenged myself (29) Hail, Kenemti, who comest forth from Kenemti, I have never worked grief. (30) Hail, thou who bringest thy offering, who comest forth from Sau, I have not acted insolently. (31) Hail, lord of faces, who comest forth

from Tchefet, I have never judged hastily. (32) Hail, Sekheriu, who comest forth from Unth, I have not transgressed, nor have I vexed or angered God. (33) Hail, lord of the two horns, who comest forth from Saui, I have not multiplied my speech overmuch. (34) Hail, Nefer-Tmu, who comest forth from Het-Ptah-ka, I have done no harm nor have I done

[1. Var. "I have or worked deceit in the place of Right and Truth." See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., p. 292.

2. One variant has, "who comest forth from Seshet" and another, "who comest forth from Annu"; see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Bl. 292; Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Bl. 47, 1. 21.]

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evil. (35) Hail, Tmu in thine hour, who comest forth from Tattu, I have not worked treason. (36) Hail, thou who workest in thy heart, who comest forth from Tebtu, I have never befouled the water. (37) Hail, thou bearer of the sistrum, who comest forth from Nu, I have not spoken scornfully. (38) Hail, thou who dost make mankind to flourish, who comest forth from thy hall, I have not cursed God. (39) Hail, Neheb-nefert, who comest forth from . . . . I have not behaved myself with arrogance (?). (40) Hail, Neheb-kau, who comest forth from thy city, I have not been overweeningly proud. (40) Hail, Tcheser-tep, who comest forth from thy hiding place, I have never magnified my condition beyond what was fitting. (42)

Hail, thou who bringest thine arm, who comest forth from Aukert, I have never slighted the god in my town."

In the Nebseni papyrus (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bll. 137, 138), the CXXVth Chapter ends as follows:--

(2) "Homage to you, O ye gods, I know You, (3) and I know your names. Cast me not down to your (4) knives of slaughter, and bring not my wickedness into the presence of the god whom ye follow, (5) and let not the time of my failings come before you. I pray you, declare me right and true in the presence of the (6) universal God, because I have done that which is right and true in Ta-mera; I have not cursed the god . . . .

"Homage to you, O ye gods who live in your hall Of (7) Right and Truth, and who have no evil in your bodies, who feed on your own substance in (8) the presence of Horus who liveth in his disk, deliver ye me from Baabi, who feedeth on the inwards of the mighty ones on the day of the great judgment which shall be holden by you. (9) I have come unto you; I have committed no faults; I have not sinned; I have done no evil; I have accused no man falsely; therefore let nothing be done against me. I live in right and truth, (10) and I feed my heart upon right and truth. That which men have bidden I have done, and the gods are satisfied thereat. I have

pacified the god, for I have done his (11) will. I have given bread unto the hungry and water unto those who thirst, clothing unto the naked, and a boat unto the shipwrecked mariner. (12) I have made holy offerings unto the gods; and I have given meals of the tomb to the sainted dead. O, then, deliver ye me, and protect me; accuse me not before the great god. (13) I am pure of mouth, and I am pure of hands. May those who see me say, 'Come in peace, come in peace.' For I have heard the speech which the Ass held with the Cat in the House of Hept-re. (14) 1 have borne witness before him [the god] and he hath given judgment. I have beheld the dividing of the persea trees (15) within Re-stau. I offer up prayers in the presence of the gods, knowing that which concerneth them. I have come forward to make a declaration of right and truth, and to place (16) the balance upon its supports within the groves of amaranth. Hail, thou who art exalted upon thy resting place, thou lord of the *atef* crown, who declarest thy name as the lord of the (17) winds, deliver thou me from thine angels of destruction, who make dire deeds to happen and calamities to arise, and (18) who have no covering upon their faces, because I have done right and truth, O thou Lord of right and truth. I am pure, in my fore-parts have I been made clean, and in my hinder parts have

I (19) been purified; my reins have been bathed in the Pool of right and

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truth, and no member of my body was wanting. I have been purified in the pool of the south. I have rested in Hemet, on the north of the (20) field of the grasshoppers, wherein the holy mariners do purify themselves in the night season, that they may pacify (?) the heart of the gods after I have passed over it (21) by night and by day. May the gods say unto me, 'We let him come,' and they say unto me, 'Who art thou, and what is thy name?' My name is 'I grew among (22) the flowers, dwelling in the olive tree.' Then shall they say unto me, 'Pass on straightway.' I have passed by the city on the north of the groves, and the gods say, 'What didst thou see there?' [I saw] the Leg and the Thigh. (23) 'What hadst thou to do with them?' I saw rejoicings in the lands of the Fenkhu. 'What did they give thee?' They gave me a (24) flame of fire together with a crystal tablet. 'What didst thou therewith?' I burned it at the place of Maati together with the things of the night. 'What didst thou (25) find there at the place of Maati?' A sceptre of flint which maketh a man to prevail. 'What then is [the name] of this sceptre of flint?' 'Giver of winds' is its name.

'What then didst thou unto the flame of fire with the tablet of (26) crystal after thou didst bury it?' I uttered words over it, I made (27) adjuration thereby, I quenched the fire, and I used the tablet to create (28) a pool of water. 'Come, then, pass through the door of this Hall of two-fold Maati, for thou (29) knowest us.' 'I will not let thee enter in over me,' saith the bolt of the door, (30) 'unless thou tell my name.' 'Weight of the place of right and truth' is thy name. I will not let thee (31) pass in by me,' saith the right post of the door, 'unless thou tell my name.' (32) 'Weigher of the labours of right and truth' is thy name. 'I will not let thee enter in by me,' saith the left Post (33) of the door, 'unless thou tell my name.' 'judge of (34) wine' (?) is thy name. 'I will not let thee pass,' saith the threshold of the door, (35) unless thou tell my name.' 'Ox of Seb' is thy name. 'I will not open unto thee,' (36) saith the bolt-socket of the door, 'unless thou tell my name.' 'Flesh of his (37) mother' is thy name. I will not open unto thee,' saith the lock of the door, 'unless thou tell my name.' The *utchat* of Sebek, the Lord of Bakhan, liveth' is thy name. (38) 'I will not open unto thee, and I will not let thee pass over me,' saith the dweller at the door, 'unless thou tell my name.' 'Arm of Shu that placeth itself to protect Osiris' (39) is thy name. 'We will not

let thee pass by us,' say the posts of the door, 'unless thou tell our names.' 'Serpent children of Rennut' are your names. 'Thou (40) knowest us, pass thou by us.' 'Thou shalt not tread upon me,' saith the floor of the hall, I unless thou tell my name.' 'I am silent, I am pure.' 'I know not (41) [the names of] thy two feet with which thou wouldst walk upon me; tell them unto me.' '. . . . . before Amsu' is the name of my right foot, 'Grief of Nephthys' is the name Of (42) my left foot. 'Tread thou upon me, for thou knowest me.' 'I will not question thee,' saith the warder of the door of the hall, unless thou tell my name.' 'Discerner of hearts, (43) searcher of reins' is thy name. I will question thee now. Who is the god that liveth in his hour? Say thou.' The teller of the two lands. 'Who then is the teller (44) of the two lands?' It is Thoth. 'Come then,' saith Thoth, 'come hither (?).' And I come forward to the test. 'What, now, is thy condition?' I am pure from (45) all evil, I am shielded from the baleful acts of those who live in their days, and I am not among them. 'I have tried thee. (46) Who is he that goeth down into the fire, the walls whereof are [crowned]

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with uræi, and whose paths are in the lake [of fire]?' He who passeth through it (47) is Osiris. 'Advance thou, in very truth thou hast been tested. Thy bread is in the *utchat*, thine ale is in the *utchat*, and meals of the tomb are brought forth unto thee upon earth from the *utchat*. This hath been decreed for thee.'"

PLATE XXXII. (continued).

Vignette: The god Nu.

Text: (1) The hair of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the hair of Nu.

Vignette: Ra, hawk-headed, and wearing a disk.

Text: (2) The face of Osiris, the scribe Ani, is the face of Ra.

Vignette: The goddess Hathor, wearing disk and horns.

Text: (3) The eyes of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the eyes of Hathor.

Vignette: The god Ap-uat and standard.

Text: (4) The ears of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the ears of Ap-uat.

Vignette: The god Anpu, jackal-headed.

Text: (5) The lips of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the lips of Anpu.

Vignette: The scorpion Serqet, holding the *shen*, and *ankh*.

Text: (6) The teeth of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the teeth of Serqet.

Vignette: The goddess Isis.

Text: (7) The neck of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the neck of Isis.

Vignette: The ram-headed god, with uræus between the horns.

Text: (8) The hands of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the hands of the Ram, the lord of Tattu.

Vignette: The god Uatchit, serpent-headed.

Text: (9) The shoulder of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the shoulder of Uatchit.

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Vignette: The goddess Mert, with outstretched hands, standing upon the emblem of gold, and having on her head a cluster of plants.

Text: (10) The throat of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the. blood of Mert.

Vignette: The goddess Neith.

Text: (11) The fore-arms of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the fore-arms of the lady of Sais.

Vignette: The god Sut.

Text: (12) The backbone of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the backbone of Sut.

Vignette: A god.

Text: (13) The chest of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the chest of the lords of Kher-aba.

Vignette: A god.

Text: (14) The flesh of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the flesh of the Mighty One of terror.

Vignette: The goddess Sekhet, lion-headed, wearing a disk.

Text: (15) The reins and back of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the reins and back of Sekhet.

Vignette: An *utchat* upon a pylon.

Text: (16) The buttocks of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the buttocks of the Eye of Horus.

Vignette: Osiris, wearing the atef crown and holding the flail and crook.

Text: (17) The privy member of Osiris Ani, triumphant, is the privy member of Osiris.

Vignette: The goddess Nut.

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Text: (18) The legs of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the legs of Nut.

Vignette: The god Ptah.

Text: (19) The feet of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the feet of Ptah.

Vignette: The star Orion.

Text: (20) The fingers of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the fingers of Saah (Orion).

Vignette: Three Uræi.

Text: (21) The leg-bones of Osiris Ani, triumphant, are the leg-bones of the living uræi.

Appendix: The complete version of the XLIInd Chapter of the Book of the Dead, referring to the identification of the body of Osiris with those of the gods, reads as follows[1]:--

(1) [CHAPTER XLII.] THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING BACK SLAUGHTER IN SUTENHENEN. Saith Osiris: "O land of the sceptre! (2) O white crown of the divine Form! O holy resting place! I am the Child. I am the Child. I am the Child. I am the Child. Hail, thou goddess Aburt! Thou sayest daily, 'The slaughter block is (3) made ready as thou knowest, and thou who wert mighty hast been brought to decay.' I establish those who praise me. I am the holy knot within the tamarisk tree, more beautiful (4) in brightness than yesterday." To be said four times. I am Ra who establish those who praise him. I am the knot within the tamarisk tree, more beautiful in brightness than the disk of yesterday. . . . . . . (5) going forth on this. day. My hair is the hair of Nu. My face is the face of Ra. Mine eyes are the eyes of Hathor. Mine ears are the ears of Ap-uat. (6) My nose is the nose of Khent-sheps.[2] My lips are the lips of Anpu. My teeth are the teeth of Khepera. My neck is the neck of Isis, the divine lady. (7) My hands are the hands of Khnemu, the lord of Tattu. My fore-arms are the fore-arms of Neith, the lady of Saïs. My backbone is the backbone of Sut. My privy member is the privy member of Osiris. My reins (8) are the reins

of the lords of Kher-aba. My breast is the breast of the awful and terrible One. My belly and my backbone are the belly and backbone of Sekhet. My buttocks (9) are the buttocks of

[1. For the text, see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 56.

2. Varr. Khentet-khas, Khentet-khaset, and Khenti-sekhem.]

the eye of Horus. My hips and thighs are the hips and thighs of Nut. My feet are the feet of Ptah. My fingers and leg-bones arc the fingers and leg-bones of the living (10) uræi. There is no member of my body which is not the member of some god. Thoth shieldeth my body altogether, and I am [like] unto Ra every day. (11) None shall seize me by mine arms; none shall drag me away by my hand. And there shall do me hurt neither men, nor gods, nor sainted dead, nor they who have perished, nor any one of those of olden times, (12) nor any mortal, nor human being. I come forth and advance, and my name is unknown. I am yesterday, and my (13) name is 'Seer of millions of years.' I travel, I travel along the path of Horus the judge. I am the lord of eternity; I feel and I have power to perceive. I am the lord of the red crown. I am the Sun's eye, yea, (14) I am in my egg, in my egg. It is granted

unto me to live therewith. I am in the Sun's eye, when it closeth, and I live by the strength thereof I come forth and I shine; (15) I enter in and I come to life. I am in the Sun's eye, my seat is on my throne, and I sit thereon within the eye. I am Horus who pass through millions of years. (16) I have governed my throne and I rule it by the words of my mouth; and whether [I] speak or whether [I] keep silence, I keep the balance even. Verily my forms are changed. I am the (17) god Unen, from season unto season; what is mine is within me. I am the only One born of an only One, who goeth round about in his course; (18) 1 am within the eye of the Sun. Things are not evil nor hostile unto me, nor are they against me. I open the door of heaven. I govern my throne, and I give [new] birth to myself on this day. [I am] not the Child who trod (19) the path of yesterday, but I am 'To-day' for untold nations. It is I who make you strong for millions of years, whether ye be in the heaven, or (20) in the earth, or in the south, or in the north, or in the west or in the east; fear of me is in your hearts. I am the pure one who dwell within the sacred eye. I shall not die (21) again. My hour resteth with you, but my forms are within my dwelling-place. I am he who is unknown, and the gods with rose-bright countenances are (22) with me. I am the unveiled one. The season wherein [the god] created heaven for me and enlarged

the bounds of the earth and made great the progeny thereof cannot be found Out. (23) My name setteth itself apart and removeth from all evil things through the words which I speak unto you. I am he who riseth and shineth; the wall of walls; the only One, [son] of an only One. Ra (24) never lacketh his form, he never passeth away, he never passeth away. Verily, I say: I am the plant which cometh forth from Nu, and my mother is Nut. Hail, (25) O my Creator, I am he who hath no power to walk, the great knot within yesterday. My power is in my hand. I am not known, [but] I am he who knoweth (26) thee. I cannot be held with the hand, but I am he who can hold thee in his hand. [Hail] O Egg! [Hail] O Egg! I am Horus who live for millions of years, whose flame lighteth upon your faces and (27) blazeth in your hearts. I have the command of my throne, and I advance in mine hour. I have opened the paths, I have turned myself away from all evil. I am (28) the ape of gold, three palms and two fingers [high], which is without legs and without arms, and which dwelleth in the House of Ptah. I go forth even as goeth forth the ape Of (29) gold three palms and two fingers [high], which hath neither legs nor arms, and which dwelleth in the house of Ptah." When [thou] hast said this chapter thou shalt open a way and enter thereon.

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PLATE XXXIII.

Vignette: A lake of fire, at each corner of which is seated a dog-headed ape.[1]

Rubric: (1) Osiris Ani, triumphant, is girt about with [fine] raiment, he is shod with (2)white sandals, and he is anointed with very precious *anta* ointment; and a bull, (3) and herbs, and incense, and ducks, and flowers, and ale, and cakes have been offered unto him. And behold, thou shalt limn upon a clean tile (4) the image of a table of offerings in clean colours, and thou shalt bury it in a field whereon (5) swine have not trampled. If this word then be written upon it, he himself shall rise again, (6) and his children's children shall flourish even as Ra flourisheth without ceasing. He shall dwell in favour (7) in the presence of the king among the chiefs, and cakes and cups of drink and portions of meat shall be given unto him upon the table (8) of the great god. He shall not be thrust from any door in Amentet; he shall travel on (9) together with the kings of the north and of the south, and he shall abide with the (10) followers of Osiris near unto Un-nefer, for ever, and for ever, and for ever.

Vignette: a Tet,[2]

[1. A somewhat similar scene forms the vignette to Chapter CXXVI., but in addition to the apes there are two uræi at each corner. The text reads: "Hail, ye four apes who sit in the bows of the boat of Ra, who make the right and truth of Neb-er-tcher to advance, who apportion unto me my weakness and my strength, who pacify the gods by the flame of your mouths, who give holy offerings unto the gods, and sepulchral meals of the tomb unto the shining ones, who feed upon right and truth, who are without falsehood, and who abominate wickedness. Destroy ye the evil which is in me, do away with mine iniquity, put away the wounds which I had upon earth, and destroy all wickedness which cleaveth unto me." [The apes say]: "Enter thou in and let nothing whatever oppose thee." "Grant ye that I may pass through the tomb, and that I may enter into Re-stau, and that I may go in through the hidden doors of the underworld, and that offerings and other things may be made unto me as unto those shining ones who pass into and out from the paths of the tomb, and who go through [the doors thereof].

2 The ### represents four pillars, *i.e.*, the four quarters of heaven, or the whole universe. As a religious emblem it symbolizes the god Osiris. A fine collection of *tets* is exhibited in the Fourth Egyptian Room (Table-Case K, and Wall-Case, No. 114), and among them may be noted: No. 2097,.a blue glazed *faïence* pendent tet, with the horns, disk, and plumes No. 739, blue glazed *faïence* pendent *tet*, with five cross-bars, and No. 8260, lapis-lazuli pendent *tet*, with horns, disk, and plumes; No. 8275, carnelian *tet*; No. 8270, agate *tet*; No. 20,623, opaque blue glass *tet* inscribed with the name of its owner; No. 20,636, stone *tet* inlaid with lapis-lazuli, carnelian, plasma, and mother of emerald.]

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Text: [CHAPTER CLV.] (1) THE CHAPTER OF A TET OF GOLD: Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith: "Thou risest, O still heart! (2) Thou shinest, O still heart! Place thou thyself upon my side. I have come arid I have brought unto thee a tet of gold; rejoice thou in it."

Appendix: In the late recension of this chapter (Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Bl. 75) the rubric is divided into two parts, which read: "To be recited over a Tet of gold inlaid (?) in sycamore wood, and placed on the neck of the shining one; and he shall pass

in through the doors of the underworld by the might of the words here spoken. It shall set him in his place on the day of the new year among the followers of Osiris.

"If this chapter be known by the deceased he shall become perfect in the underworld. He shall not be thrust back at the doors of Amentet; cakes and ale and meat offerings shall be offered unto him upon the altars of Ra, or (as some say) of Osiris Un-nefer; and he shall triumph over his foes in the underworld for ever and for ever."

Vignette: A buckle, or tie.

Text: [CHAPTER CLVI.]. (1) THE CHAPTER OF A BUCKLE OF CARNELIAN.[1]

Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "The blood of Isis, the charms of Isis, (2) the power of Isis, are a protection unto me, the chief, and they crush that which I abhor."

Appendix: *Rubric:*[2] This chapter shall be said over a buckle of red jasper[3] (*or* carnelian) which hath been dipped in water of *ankham* flowers and inlaid in sycamore wood, and hath been placed on the neck of the shining one. If this chapter be inscribed upon it, it shall become the power of Isis, and it shall protect him;

and Horus, the son of Isis, shall rejoice when he seeth it. No way shall be impassable to him, and one hand shall extend unto heaven, and the other unto earth. If this chapter be known [by the

[1. The Nebseni papyrus adds the words, "to be placed near the neck of this shining one."

2. See Maspero, *Mémoire sur Quelques Papyrus du Louvre*, p. 8.

3. The amulet of the buckle is usually made of carnelian, red jasper, red porphyry, red glass, or red *faïence*, but examples in grey and black stone and wood are also known at times it was made entirely of gold, but it was frequently set in gold only. Large wooden models of the buckle were placed in the wooden hands which were fastened on the breasts of coffins; they usually lay upon the left breast, and the tee on the right. In the fine collection of buckles in the British Museum the following are of interest: No. 20,641, pendent buckle of red glass inscribed with the Chapter of the Buckle No. 20,621, black stone pendent buckle, with hollow loop, inscribed with the Chapter of the Buckle; No. 20,646, grey stone buckle inscribed ###. No. 20,619, red glass (?) buckle set in a gold frame, and inscribed with a few words of the Chapter of the Buckle, and the name of Aah-mes the scribe; No. 8258, mottled glass buckle having the loop inlaid with blue composition; No. 8259, red *faïence* double buckle, pierced lengthwise for threading in a necklace.]

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deceased] he shall be among those who follow Osiris Un-nefer, triumphant. The gates of the underworld shall be opened unto him, and a homestead shall be given unto him, together with wheat and barley, in the Sekhet-Aaru; and the followers of Horus who reap therein shall proclaim his name as one of the gods who are therein.

Vignette: A heart.

Text: [CHAPTER XXIXB.]. (1) THE CHAPTER OF A HEART OF CARNELIAN. Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "I am the *Bennu*, the soul of Ra, and the guide of the gods into (2) the underworld. The souls come forth upon earth to do the will of their *ka's*, and the soul of Osiris Ani cometh forth to do the will of his *ka*."

Vignette: A head-rest.

Text: [CHAPTER CLXVI.] (I) THE CHAPTER OF THE PILLOW WHICH IS PLACED UNDER THE HEAD OF OSIRIS ANI, TRIUMPHANT, TO WARD OFF WOES FROM THE DEAD BODY OF OSIRIS. (2) [Ani saith]: "Lift up thy head to the heavens, for I have knit thee together triumphantly. Ptah hath overthrown his foes and thine; all his enemies have fallen, and they shall never more rise up again, O Osiris."

PLATES XXXIII AND XXXIV.

Vignette: The mummy-chamber, arranged as a plan, representing the floor and walls laid flat, in fifteen compartments. In the centre, under a canopy, is place d the bier bearing the mummy of Ani, beside which stands the god Anubis,[1]

[1. In the Nebseni papyrus the text referring to Anubis reads: "Anubis, who dwelleth in the region of the embalmed, the chief of the holy house, layeth his hands upon the lord of life (*i.e.*, the mummy),

It and provideth him with all that belongeth unto him, and saith: 'Flail to thee, thou beautiful one, the lord! Thou hast been gazed upon by the

Sun's eye, thou hast been bound up by Ptah-Seker, thou hast been made whole by Anubis; breath hath been given unto thee by Shu, and thou hast been raised up by the fair one, the prince of eternity. Thou hast thine eyes. Thy right eye is in the sektet boat, and thy left eye is in the *sektet* boat. Thine eye-brows appear fair before the company of the gods. Thy brow is in the charge of Anubis. The back of thy head is in good case in tile presence of the sacred hawk. Thy fingers are stablished by written decree in the presence of the lord of Khemennu, and Thoth giveth unto thee the speech of the sacred books. Thy hair is in good case in the presence of Ptah-Seker. Osiris is in bliss, and reverence is done unto him before the company of the great gods. He looketh upon the great god, he is led on fair paths, he is made strong with meals of the tomb, and his enemies are cast down beneath him in presence of the company of the great gods who are in the great house of the aged one in Annu.'"]

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with hands outstretched over the body. At the foot of the bier kneels the goddess Isis, and at the head the goddess Nephthys, each being accompanied by a flame of fire, which is placed in the compartment immediately behind her. The Tet occupies the compartment immediately above the bier, and the jackal--emblematic of Anubis or Ap-uat--couchant on the tomb, with a sceptre having pendent *menats*--occupies the compartment below. The four children of Horus, or gods of the cardinal points--Mestha, Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf--stand in the corners of the four adjoining compartments. In each of the two upper and outer compartments is the human-headed bird emblematic of the soul, standing on a pylon, the one on the right being turned to the west or setting sun, the other on the left facing the east

or rising sun. In the right lower compartment stands the figure of the Perfected Soul; in the corresponding compartment on the left is a Ushabti figure.

Text [CHAPTER CLI.] [Isis saith:] "I have come to be a protector unto thee. I waft (2) unto thee air for thy nostrils, and the north wind, which cometh forth from the god Tmu, unto thy nose (3)- 1 have made whole thy lungs. I have made thee (4) to be like unto a god. Thine enemies have fallen beneath thy feet. (5, 6) Thou hast been made victorious in (7) Nut, and thou art mighty to prevail with the gods."

[Nephthys saith:] "(2) I have gone round about to protect thee, brother Osiris; (3) 1 have come to be a protector unto thee. [My strength shall be behind thee, my strength shall be behind thee, for ever. Ra hath heard thy cry, and the gods have granted that thou shouldst be victorious. Thou art raised up, and thou art victorious over that which hath been done unto thee. Ptah hath thrown down thy foes, and thou art Horus, the son of Hathor.]"[1]

[1. In Ani the text is corrupt, and the passage within brackets is translated from the following version (Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. II., Bl. 428):

maket-d ha-k sep sen t'etta setem nas-k an Ra smaaxeru an neteru thes-tu semaaxeru-k her arit erek xer en Ptah xeft-k entek Heru sa Het-Heru.]

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[The flame of Isis saith:] "I protect thee with this flame, and I drive away him (the foe) from the valley of the tomb, and I drive away the sand from thy feet. I embrace Osiris Ani, who is triumphant in peace and in right and truth."[1]

[The flame of Nephthys saith:] "I have come to hew in pieces. I am not hewn in pieces, nor will I suffer thee to be hewn in pieces. I have come to do violence, but I will not let violence be done unto thee, for I am protecting thee."

[The Tet saith:] "I have come quickly, and I have driven back the footsteps of the god whose face is hidden.[2] I have illumined his sanctuary. I stand behind the sacred Tet or, the day of repulsing disaster.[3] I protect thee, O Osiris."

[Mestha saith:] I am Mestha, thy son, O Osiris Ani, triumphant. I have come to protect thee, and I will make thine abode to flourish everlastingly. I have commanded Ptah, even as Ra himself commanded him."

[Hapi saith:] "I am Hapi thy son, O Osiris Ani, triumphant. I have come to protect thee. Thy head and thy limbs are knit together; and I have smitten down thine enemies beneath thee. I have given

unto thee thy head for ever and for ever, O Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace."

[Tuamautef saith:] "I am thy beloved son Horus. I have come to avenge thee, O my father Osiris, upon him that did evil unto thee; and I have put him under thy feet for ever, and for ever, and for ever; O Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace."

[1. The text here is corrupt. Brit. Mus. papyrus, No. 10,010 (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Bl. 429) reads *nuk ahu sa er teb ament xesef-a xesef su er teka set au seset-na set au setenem-na uat au-a em sa*, "I surround with sand the hidden tomb, and drive away the violent one therefrom. I lighten the valley of the tomb, I cast light therein, I traverse the ways, and I protect [Osiris]."

2 Reading *i-a em heh xesef nemmat kep-hra-f sehet' kep-f*.

See Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. II., Bl. 428.

3 Variant *hru xesef sat*, "day of driving back slaughter."]

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[Qebhsennuf saith:] "I am thy son, O Osiris Ani, triumphant. I have come to protect thee. I have collected thy bones, and I have gathered together thy members. [I have brought thy heart and I have placed it upon its throne within thy body. I have made thy house to flourish after thee, O thou who livest for ever.]"[1]

[The bird which faceth the setting sun saith]: "Praise be to Ra when he setteth in the western part of heaven. Osiris Ani,

triumphant in peace in the underworld, saith: 'I am a perfected soul,'"

[The bird which faceth the rising sun saith]: "Praise be to Ra when he riseth in the eastern part of heaven from Osiris Ani, triumphant."

[The Perfected Soul saith]: "I am a perfected soul in the holy egg of the *abtu* fish. I am the great cat which dwelleth in the seat of right and truth wherein riseth the god Shu."

[The text near the Ushabti Figure (Chapter VI.) reads]: Osiris Ani, the overseer, triumphant, saith: " Hail, *shabti* figure! If it be decreed that Osiris [Ani] shall do any of the work which is to be done in the underworld, let all that standeth in the way be removed from before him; whether it be to plough the fields, or to fill the channels with water, or to carry sand from [the East to the West]." The *shabti* figure replies: "I will do [it]; verily I am here [when] thou callest."

Vignette: Ani, with both hands raised in adoration, standing before a table of offerings; behind him is his wife holding lotus and other flowers in her left hand.

Text: [Chapter CX.] (1) HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF THE SEKHET-HETEPU, AND THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY, AND OF GOING INTO AND OF COMING OUT FROM THE UNDERWORLD, AND OF ARRIVING IN THE SEKHET(2) AANRU, AND OF BEING IN PEACE IN THE GREAT CITY WHEREIN ARE FRESH BREEZES. Let me have power there. Let me become strong to plough there. (3) Let me reap there. Let me eat there. Let me drink there. [Let me woo there.][2] And let me do all these things there, even as they are done upon earth.

[1. In the papyrus of Ani the text of the end of the speech of Qebbsennuf appears to be corrupt the words within brackets are translated from other papyri, and the Egyptian would run as follows: *an-na nek ab-k ta-a nek su her auset-f em xat-k serut-na pa-k emxet-k anx-tha t'etta*.

2. Reading, with the Nebseni papyrus, *nehep am*.]

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Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: (4) "Set hath carried away Horus to see what is being built in the Field of Peace, and he spreadeth the air over (5) the divine soul within the egg in its day. He hath delivered the innermost part of the body of Horus from the holy ones of Akert (?).[1] Behold I have sailed in the mighty boat on the Lake of Peace.[2] I, even I, have crowned him in the House of (6) Shu. His starry abode reneweth its youth, reneweth its youth. I have sailed on its Lake that I may come unto its cities, and I have drawn nigh It unto the city Hetep.[3] For behold, I repose

at the seasons [of Horus]. I have passed through the region of the company of the gods who are aged and venerable. (7) 1 have pacified the two holy Fighters[4] who keep ward upon life. I have done that which is right and fair, and I have brought an offering and have pacified the two holy Fighters. I have cut off the (9) hairy scalp of their adversaries, and I have made aft end of the (10) woes which befel [their] children; (11) I have done away all the evil which came against their souls; I have gotten dominion over it, (12) 1 have knowledge thereof. I have sailed forth on the waters [of the lake] (13) that I may come unto the cities thereof. I have power (14) over my mouth, being furnished [with] charms; let not. [the fiends] get the mastery over me, (16) let them not have dominion over me. May I be equipped in thy Fields of Peace. What thou wishest that shalt thou do, [saith the god]."

Vignette: The Sekhet-hetepet or "Fields of Peace," surrounded and intersected with streams. They contain the following:

(*a.*) Thoth, the scribe of the gods, holding pen and palette, introduces Ani, who is making an offering, and his *ka* to three gods who have the heads of a hare, serpent, and bull respectively, and are entitled *pauti*, " the company of the gods." Ani and a table of offerings in a boat. Ani addressing a hawk standing

[1. Reading, with the Nebseni papyrus, *ma Akeru*.

2. Adding from the Nebseni papyrus: *as kua xenen-a uaa pen aa em Se-Hetep*.

3. Adding from the Nebseni papyrus: *renp-th renp-th xen-na em se-s er sper-a er nut-s xent-a er Hetep-sen entet*.

4. *I.e.*, Horus and Set.]

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on a pylon-shaped pedestal, before which are an altar and a god. Three ovals.[1] The legend reads *un em hetep sexet nifu er fent*, "Being at peace in the Field [of Peace], and having air for the nostrils."

(*b.*) Ani reaping wheat, with the words *asex Ausar*, "Osiris reaps"; guiding the oxen treading out the corn; standing with hands and holding the *kherp* sceptre, and kneeling before two vessels of red barley and wheat. The hieroglyphics seem to mean, "the food of the shining ones." Three ovals.[2]

(*c.*) Ani ploughing[3] with oxen in a part of the Fields of Peace called "Sekhet-aanre"; with the word *sekau*, to plough. The two lines of hieroglyphics read:--

re en hete'et atru 1000 em au-f an t'et usex-f an un remu neb am-f an hefau nebt am-f.

Chapter of the River-horse. The river is one thousand [cubits] in its length. Not can be told its width. Not exist fishes any in it, not [exist] serpents any in it.

[1. In the Nebseni papyrus they are called Qetqetmu, Hetepmu, and Urmu.

2. Instead of three, the Nebseni papyrus has four ovals, which are called Hetep, An (?), Uakhakha, and Neb-taui.

3 In the Turin papyrus, published by Lepsius, the ploughing, sowing, reaping and treading out the corn are all shown in one division, and the deceased stands in adoration before "Hapi, the father of the gods."

In the papyrus of Nebseni the deceased adores the company of the gods who live in the Field of Hetep, saying: "Hail to you, O ye lords of *kas*, I have come in peace into your fields to receive *tchefau* food. Grant ye that I may come to the great god daily, and that I may have sepulchral meals, and that my *ka* may be supplied with the meat and drink offered to the dead. May Osiris and the company of the gods, who dwell in the Field of Hetep, give a royal oblation, may they {footnote p. 365} grant meat and drink and all good things, and bandages and incense every day. And may I sit down at the table [of the god] daily to receive bread of his bread, and cakes, and wine, and milk, and *tchefau* food; and may I follow in the train of the god when he maketh his appearance in his festivals in Res-tau." (For the text see Naville, Todtenbuch, Bd. I., Bl. 123.)]

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(*d.*) A boat bearing a flight of steps and floating on a stream;[1] above is the legend *tehefau*,[2] (?)~ A boat of eight oars, each end shaped like a serpent's head, bearing a flight of steps; at the stern is written and at the bows *meter am Un-nefer*, "the god therein is Un-nefer." The stream which flows on the convex side of the small island is called *ashet pet*, "flood (?) of [heaven]."

On the other island is placed a flight of steps, by the side of which is written The space to the left represents the abode of the blessed dead, and is described as:--

duset xu au-sen meh sexef at meh xemt an saku aqeru asexet-sen

The seat of the shining ones. Their length is cubits seven the wheat cubits three the blessed dead who are perfected they reap [it].

[1. In the Turin papyrus this boat is called *uda en Ra-Heru-xuti xeft t'a-f er Sexet Aanre*: the boat of Ra-Harmachis when he goeth forth into the Field of Aanre.

2 In the Turin papyrus the words t'efu uru are written between the boats, the ends of which are shaped like serpents' heads.

3 In ancient papyri qeqsu is written, and in the Turin papyrus ###. In the Nebseni papyrus four gods dwell on this island, and the accompanying text says that they are "the great company of the gods in Sekhet-hetep; but in the Turin papyrus three gods only, whose names are Shu, Tefnut, and Seb respectively, are depicted.

4 A small division called the "birthplace of the gods" is not marked in the Ani papyrus, although it is found in that of Nebseni (see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. i., Bl. 123).]

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PLATES XXXV. AND XXXVI.

Vignette: A hall, within which, on the left, Ani stands before two tables of offerings bearing libation water and lotus-flowers, with hands raised, adoring Ra, hawk-headed.[1] Next are ranged

seven cows, each one couchant before a table of offerings, and each having a *menat* attached to the neck;[2] and a bull standing before a table of offerings. Behind them are four rudders; and on the extreme right are four triads of gods, each triad having a table of offerings bearing a libation vase and a lotus-flower (?).

Text: [CHAPTER CXLVIII.]. (i) Saith Osiris Ani, triumphant: "Homage to thee, (2) O thou lord, thou lord of right and truth, the One, the lord of eternity and creator (3) of everlastingness, I have come unto thee, O my lord Ra. I have made (4) meat offerings unto the seven kine and unto their bull. O ye who give (5) cakes and ale to the shining ones, grant ye to my soul to be with

[1. In the Turin papyrus, published by Lepsius, the god wears the triple or *atef* crown instead of a disk and serpent, and the text describes him as "Osiris the lord of eternity, the prince, the lord of everlastingness, the great god, the governor of Akertet." Behind the god stands a female figure wearing upon her head, emblematic of "the beautiful Amenta," with both her hands "extended to receive" the deceased. The address to Osiris and Amenta by the deceased reads: "Homage to thee, O thou Bull of Amentet, Prince, lord of everlastingness, the great god, the governor of Akertet, receive thou the Osiris into the beautiful Amentet in peace, and may it stretch forth its hands to receive me."

2 In other papyri the names of these animals are given as follows:

het kau nebt tcher, "the dwelling of the has of the lord of the universe"; (2) *sentet utheset*, "orbit, the raising of the god"; (3) *amenit xentet auset-s*, "the hidden one dwelling in her place"; (4) *hatet sahet*, "the divine noble one of the north (?)"; (5) *urt meru tesert*, "the greatly beloved, red of hair"; (6) *xnemt anxit*, "the consort of life"; (7) *sexem ren-s em abet-s*, "her name prevaileth in her dwelling"; (8) *ka t'ai kauit*, "Bull, making the kine to be fruitful."]

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you. (6) May Osiris Ani, triumphant, be born upon your thighs; may he be like unto one (7) Of you for ever and for ever; and may he become a glorious being (8) in the beautiful Amenta."

[*Address to the Rudders*]: "(1) Hail, thou beautiful Power,[1] thou beautiful it rudder of the northern heaven."

"(2) Hail, thou who goest round about heaven, thou pilot of the world, thou beautiful rudder of the western heaven."

"(3) Hail, thou shining one, who livest[2] in the temple wherein are the gods in visible forms, thou beautiful rudder of the eastern heaven."

"(4) Hail, thou who dwellest in the temple of the bright-faced ones,[3] thou it beautiful rudder[4] of the southern heaven."

[*Address to the four Triads*[5]]: "(5) Hail, ye gods who are above the earth, ye pilots of the underworld."

"(6) Hail, ye mother-gods who are above the earth, who are in the underworld, and who are in the House of Osiris."

"(7) Hail, ye gods, ye pilots of Tasert, ye who are above the earth, ye pilots of the underworld."

"(8) Hail, ye followers of Ra, who are in the train of Osiris."

Vignette: Ani standing before a table of offerings, with both hands raised in adoration. Behind him is his wife, wearing a lotus-flower and a cone upon her head, and holding a sistrum. and lotus-flower in her left hand.

Text: [CHAPTER CLXXXV. (?)] (I) A HYMN OF PRAISE TO OSIRIS THE DWELLER IN AMENTET, UN-NEFER WITHIN ABTU, Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith: Hail, O my lord, who dost traverse (2) eternity, and whose existence endureth for ever. Hail, Lord of Lords, King of Kings, Prince, the God of gods who (3) live with Thee, I have come unto Thee Make thou for me a seat with those who are in the underworld, and who adore (4) the images of thy *ka* (5) and who are among those who [endure] for (6) millions of millions of years

[1. Variant *ka-f nefer* "his beautiful *ka*."

2. Reading *xenti her ab*.

3. Reading *her abu het teser*.

4. In the Turin and the older papyri each rudder is accompanied by an *utchat*.

5. In the Turin papyrus the four children of Horus take the place of these triads.]

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. . . . [1] (10) May no delay arise for me in Ta-mera. Grant thou (11) that they all may come unto me, great (12) as well as small. Mayest thou grant unto the ka of Osiris Ani [the power] to go into and to come forth (13) from the underworld; and suffer him not to be driven back at the gates of the Tuat."

PLATE XXXVII.

Vignette: A shrine wherein stands *Sekeri-Ausar neb setait neter aa neb Neter-xert* Seker-Osiris, lord of the hidden place, the great god, the lord of the underworld.

He wears the white crown with feathers, and holds in his hands the sceptre, flail, and crook.

The goddess Hathor, in the form of a hippopotamus, wearing upon her head a disk and horns; in her right hand she holds an unidentified object, and in her

[1. The text of all this passage is corrupt, and the version here given is little more than a suggestion.

2. The version of the CLXXXVth Chapter given by Naville (*Todtenbuch*, Bd. I., Bl. 211) reads:--

anet'-hra-k neter pen seps aa menx ser er neheh, xenti auset-f em sektet aa xaau em atetet tata nef hennu em pet em ta seqai pat rexi aa sefsefet-f em abu en reth xu mu ertat baiu-f Tettet sefsefet-f em Suten-henen ertai

axemu-f em Annu aa xeperu-f em abti i-nek ab-a xer maa hati-a an ker ta-k un-a emma anxiu xet-a xent-a am sesiu-k.

Homage to thee god this sacred great, beneficent, prince of eternity, dweller in his seat in the *Sektet* boat great, diademed in the *atet* boat, are given to him praises in heaven and in earth, exalted by the ancients and by mankind, the greatness of his might is in the hearts of men, shining spirits, and the dead, placing his souls in Tattu, his might in Suten-henen, and placing the visible emblems of himself in Annu, and the might of his forms in the place of purification. I have come to thee, my heart is right, my breast is without deceit, grant thou that I may be among the living, that I may sail down and that I may sail up among thy followers.]

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left the emblem of life. Before her are tables of meat and drink offerings and flowers. Behind the hippopotamus, the divine cow, Meh-urit, symbolizing the same goddess, looks out from the funeral mountain, wearing the *menat* on her neck. At the foot of the mountain is the tomb; and in the foreground grows a group of flowering plants.

Text: [CHAPTER CLXXXVI.] Hathor, lady of Amentet, dweller in the land of Urt, lady of Ta-sert, the Eye of Ra, the dweller in his brow, the beautiful Face in the Boat of Millions of Years.[1]. . . . .

[1. The few remaining words are corrupt.]